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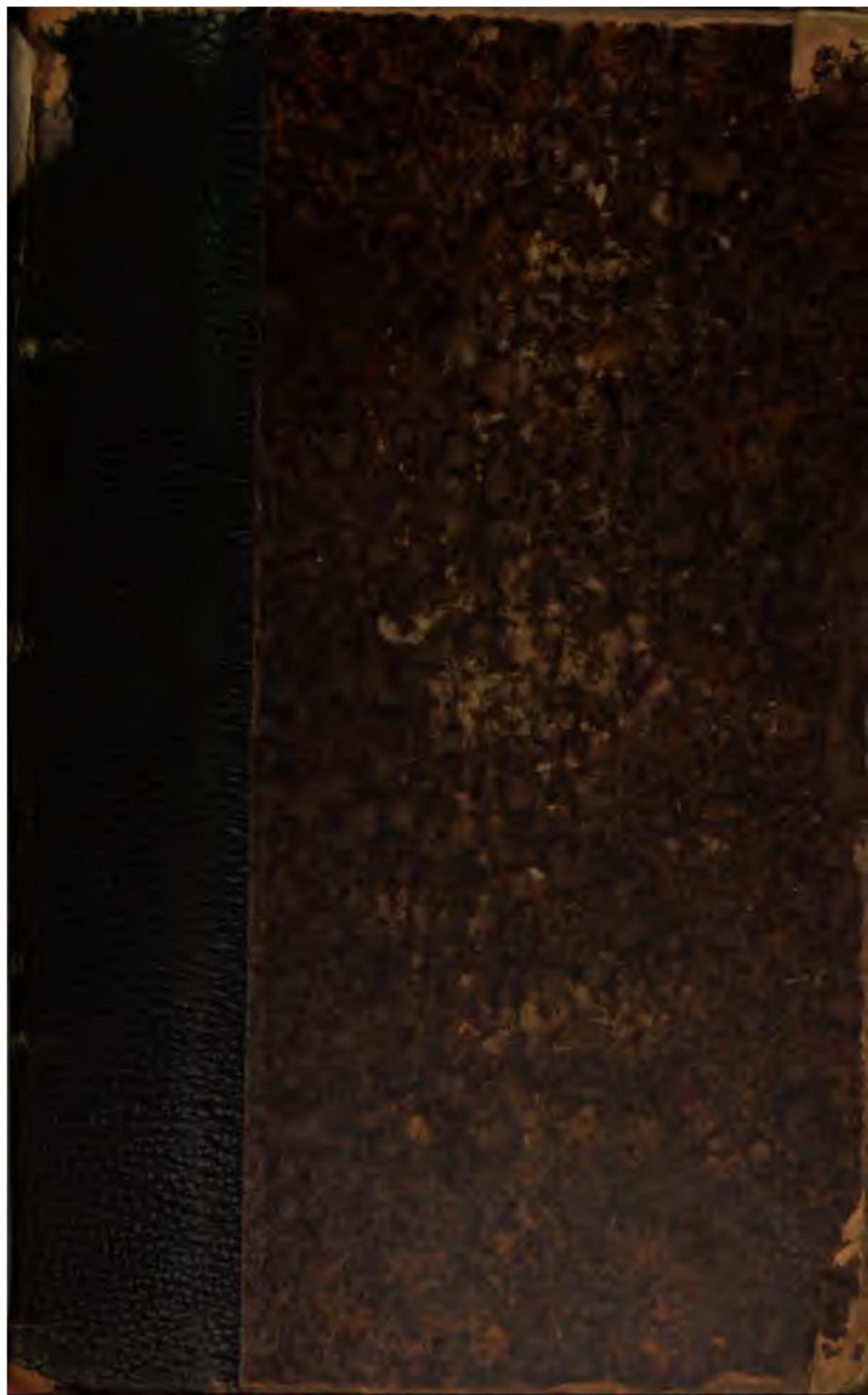
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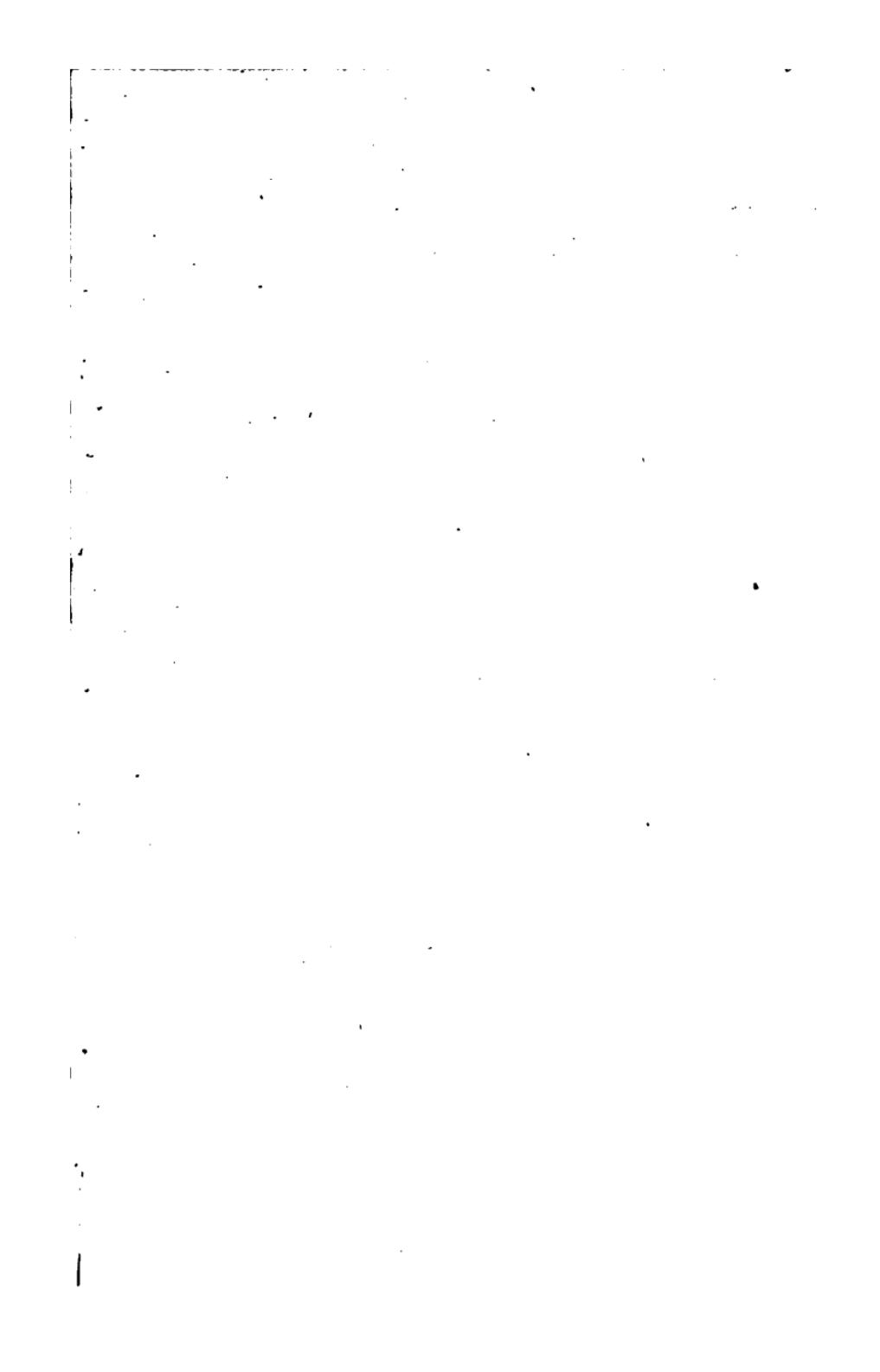


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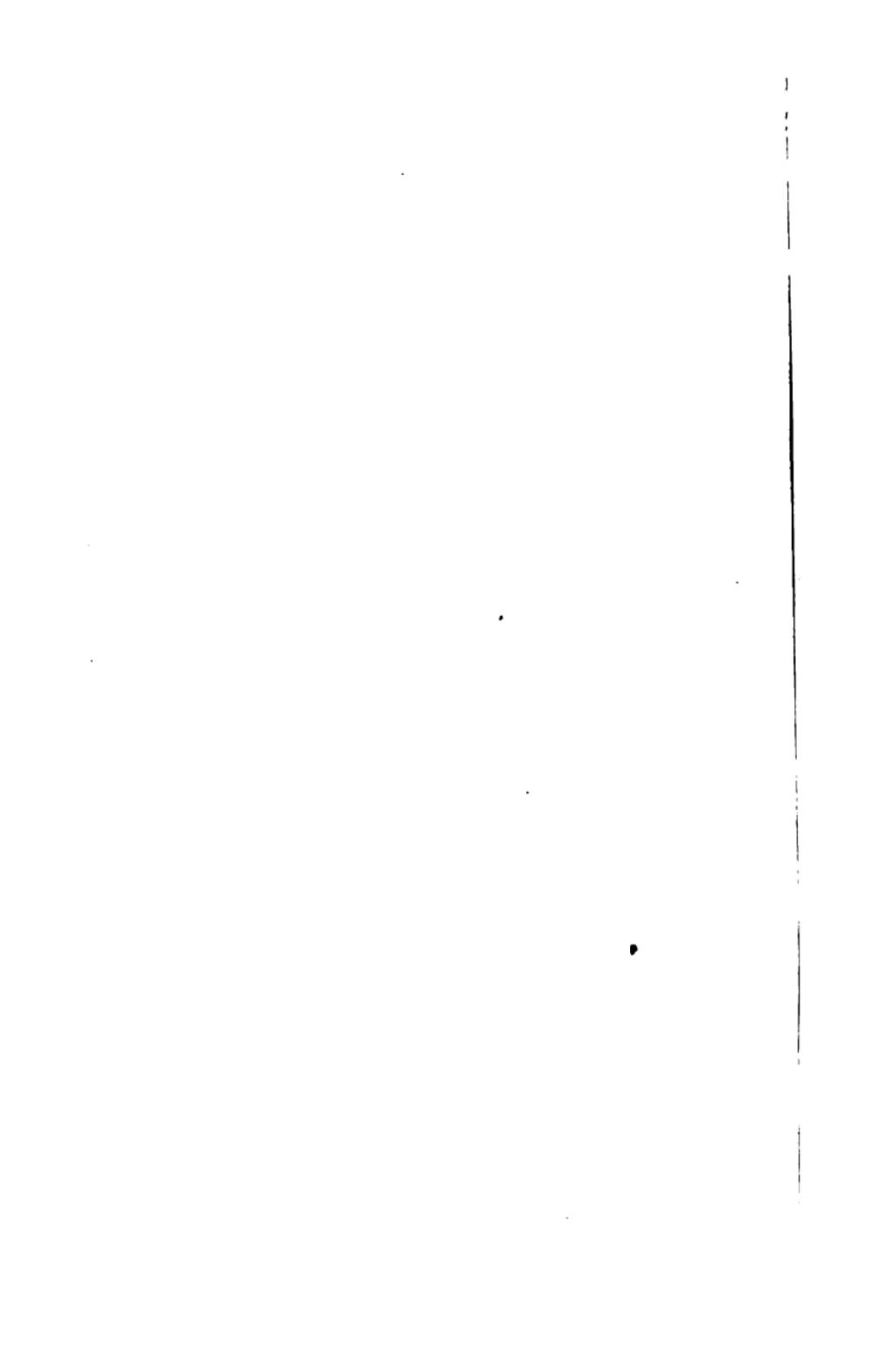
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**HELLENICS OF XENOPHON.**

**BOOKS I. AND II.**



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ  
Ο  
A. B.

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HELLENICS OF XENOPHON  
BOOKS I. AND II.

THE TEXT REVISED

WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY  
ANALYSIS INDICES AND MAP

BY

HERBERT HAILSTONE, B.A.  
LATE SCHOLAR OF PETERHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE ancients themselves never doubted as to the genuineness of the complete Hellenics. Amongst later critics however Niebuhr had no hesitation in styling Xenophon “an utterly unworthy citizen, and a historian of but little integrity.” Vollbrecht<sup>1</sup> further brings before our notice charges laid against the Historian of “openly disregarding topics, which, either from their want of striking interest, or of congeniality with Spartan sympathies, did not court narration”; of “wholly suppressing, or setting forward, with strong bias, judgment on many of the leading characters of later Peloponnesian history”; of “closely curtailing, or treating diffusely grave and important incidents.” In short, modern critics no longer share the confidence of earlier scholars in our author’s candour and simplicity of style. Many charge Xenophon himself with a direct perversion of the truth; many complain of the lateness and imperfections of the manuscripts; some infer that the Hellenics which we now possess are but notes of single

<sup>1</sup> G. Vollbrecht, *Dissert. de Xen. Hellen.* p. 3, sqq.

events jotted down for a complete review of history ; others, that we have no more than a summary of the entire original composition.

From the frequent notices of later historians we may with certainty gather that there existed a work of Xenophon amongst them treating of Greek History from the period at which the pen of Thucydides was laid down ; and the opening words<sup>1</sup> of the *Hellenics* prove nothing to the contrary. Grote<sup>2</sup> indeed writes that “to pass from Thucydides to the *Hellenica* of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful ; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us.” We miss, it is true, the elaborate research and power of narrative in Xenophon’s continuation of his predecessor’s story ; the absence, on the other hand, of anything like philosophical or legendary digression, even if the narrative becomes thereby somewhat over-plain and simple, yet imparts to the successive details a close and practical connexion.

The first two books of the *Hellenics* comprise the scenes of the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, with the ensuing events at Athens, down to the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants in 403 B.C.<sup>3</sup>. Throughout the narration of this series of events, the historian appears to his best advantage : his heart is still warm with an innate love of country and of her free institutions : like a true Athenian, he condemns the

<sup>1</sup> *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, cp. note i. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Gr.* vii. p. 356, n

<sup>3</sup> Mure, *Lit. Anc. Greece*, p. 278.

wholesale murders of the Thirty Tyrants, no less than the inconsiderate cruelty of the fickle populace towards the six admirals who perished undefended and unheard. Dislike indeed to accurate detail and rising aristocratic sympathies have subjected our author to the grave charge<sup>1</sup> of "purposely involving the events following upon Arginusæ and the position of the generals in obscurity": and certainly that strict impartiality in judging of events, which Thucydides especially shews, is wanting in his successor<sup>2</sup>. If however Xenophon becomes crude in his narration, yet his speeches will not fail to give complete satisfaction. In length, argument, and purpose these are equally appropriate; and their rhetoric is lightened with playful sarcasm and dramatic colour. The combatants' harangue is pleasingly relieved by the interposition of events, the historian's judgment, or the listeners' words and feelings as to the point in question<sup>3</sup>: while sometimes an eloquence, not unworthy of the orator Demosthenes or Aeschines, rises above the historian's unambitious evenness of speech<sup>4</sup>.

In this supplement to Peloponnesian history, the method of chronology by years and seasons is continued according to the practice of Thucydides<sup>5</sup>; while in addition to the usual formula, the notice of minor details seems to mark more closely the historic series of events. Thus we have mention of Olympiads<sup>6</sup>, of victors in the stadium<sup>7</sup>, of a race of two-horsed chariots<sup>8</sup>, of archons and ephors<sup>9</sup>. Thucydides indeed

<sup>1</sup> Grote, *Hist. Gr.* vii. p. 435, n.

<sup>2</sup> Mure, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> II. 3. 24, sqq.

<sup>4</sup> II. 4. 20, sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. II. 1.

<sup>6</sup> I. 2. 1, II. 3. 1.

<sup>7</sup> I. 2. 1, II. 3. 1.

<sup>8</sup> I. 2. 1.

<sup>9</sup> I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, II. 1. 10, II. 3. 1.

makes frequent mention of archons and ephors, and even of priestesses of Juno at Argos; but rather to define more distinctly some event of note, than to arrange in due order the transactions of successive years. When we contrast however these notices of our historian with the *general* plan of Thucydides<sup>1</sup>, who only mentions the Olympic victor once<sup>2</sup>, and that in strict connection with the summoning to Olympia of the Mitylenæan ambassadors—or of Herodotus, who only mentions an archon once<sup>3</sup>, to define the year more clearly in which Athens was laid waste by the Persians, the citations may with some reason be considered supposititious. In the latter part of the second book, there is no distinct method of computing time<sup>4</sup>; and the dates assigned to events, according to computation of years from the commencement of the war, hardly present sufficient correctness to exclude the idea of later interpolation<sup>5</sup>.

There is little doubt but that the present division of the Hellenics into books is the work of later grammarians<sup>6</sup>. Niebuhr considered that the Greek History of Xenophon was formed of two distinct works, written at different times, viz., the conclusion of Thucydides and the Hellenics. The conclusion of Thucydides, consisting of the first two books, was, in his opinion, written in the interval between the Return of the Ten Thousand, and the recall of Agesilaus from Asia (B.C. 400—394), while the last five books were written about 356 B.C. He also conceived it not improbable

<sup>1</sup> Breitenbach, *Prolegom. Xen. Hellen.* p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> III. 8.

<sup>3</sup> VIII. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Mure, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> I. 6. 1, II. 1. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Mure, p. 323.

that Xenophon published the books of Thucydides, when residing at Athens after the battle of Cnidus, and subjoined to them two supplemental books. But even if the earlier and later books were written at different periods<sup>1</sup>, it does not follow that Xenophon did not consider them as belonging to the same work, especially when we call to mind the long delay and limited publicity attending the production of an ancient work. Probably the Histories of Thucydides and of Herodotus were written continuously without any division of words, and still less of paragraphs or chapters or books. The Dialogues of Plato moreover shew no signs of any division into books, with the exception of the Republic and the Laws; and although the philosophical treatises of Aristotle had in the time of Diogenes Laertius been all divided into books, yet they are wholly devoid of internal evidence that these divisions were made by Aristotle himself. Polybius who survived 129 B.C. is the earliest Greek writer whose extant remains exhibit unquestionable evidence of an original division into books.

As regards the text in general, all scholars who had the good fortune to study Greek and Roman antiquity under the auspices of Shilleto, will readily call to mind his favourite saying, "Cobet has gone too far": and in the present instance I myself would rather be content to follow the liberal judgment which could confess "that Xenophon frequently departs from his country's usage<sup>2</sup>," than be a slave to the despotism of a critic who could dictate, "in cæteris

<sup>1</sup> G. C. Lewis, *Journ. Philol.* ii. pp. 1—44.

<sup>2</sup> Shilleto on Thuc. i. 43. 2.

librariorum errores sedulo correxi, vitiosas vocabulorum formas ad certam Atticorum consuetudinem redigi, insulsa sciolorum additamenta sustuli, et ubique hoc egi ut Hellenica sine offensione legi et explicari possent<sup>1</sup>." In particular, I have endeavoured to preserve throughout the reading of the Manuscripts, especially that of B and D; and have followed in the main the accurate judgment of Sauppe.

These editions and treatises moreover have been used in the preparation of this instalment of the Hellenics: *Histories of Greece*—Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote: Xenophon's *Hellenics*—Schneider, 1849; Breitenbach, 1853; Dindorf, 1853 and 1876; Hickie (Book I), 1842; Cobet, 1862; G. Sauppe, 1866; Emil Kurz, 1873; B. Büchsenschütz, 1876; J. S. Philpotts (Selections), 1876: Sturz's *Lexicon Xenophonticum*: Sauppe's *Lexilogus Xenophonticus*, 1869: G. C. Lewis, "the Hellenics of Xenophon and their division into Books," *Journ. Phil.*, pp. 1—44, 1844: Mure, *Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, 1857: G. Vollbrecht, *Dissert. de Xen. Hellen.*, 1874: *Hellenics*, literally translated by J. S. Watson, and H. Dale, 1876.

For further information I am indebted to Jelf's *Greek Grammar*, Arnold's *Thucydides*, Macmichael's *Anabasis*, &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet, *Præf. Hellen.*

H. H.

11, ALFRED PLACE,  
BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON.

## LIFE OF XENOPHON.

XENOPHON, the son of Gryllus, was an Athenian by birth. Lucian tells us that he lived to the age of ninety years; and the historian himself relates the assassination of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, which took place about 357 B.C. In addition to this we find him present at a banquet given by Callias in honour of Autolycus "victor among the boys" in the pancratium 421 B.C., on which occasion he would probably be somewhat under sixteen years of age. Phalinus also addresses him as "young man" (i.e. under forty) 401 B.C. He runs to the battle-rescue 400 B.C. in company with comrades "not yet aged thirty." The date of his birth may therefore reasonably be placed between 435 and 431 B.C.

Xenophon himself speaks thus of his first introduction to the service of Cyrus—"that Proxenus, an ancient guest-friend, had sent for him with promises that if he willed to join the expedition, he would gain for him the friendship of Cyrus; that such a patron would be of more service than his native country." Accordingly he spoke with Socrates on the matter: and Socrates, fearing lest friendship with Cyrus might make him mischief in his own land, bade him enquire of the God at Delphi concerning the journey. And Xenophon, neglecting to ask whether he should even

join the adventure, sought to which of all the deities he should sacrifice and so be prosperous in his voyage. The God answered him to which he should do sacrifice; but Socrates blamed him that he had not asked whether it would be well indeed to journey forth or stay at home. Then Socrates bade him go: and Xenophon did sacrifice, and sailed away to Sardis. It appears that the historian did not join the march either as an officer or soldier, but as a civilian or volunteer: during his ordinary education however as an Athenian citizen, he would have learnt much of military duties, and his rank amongst the Knights would enable him to acquitted himself well in respect of horsemanship. The expedition at first was represented as against the Pisidians; but, on arriving at Cilicia, it was plain that the object of Cyrus was to attack his king and brother Artaxerxes. Accordingly the armament marched, though not without many murmurs of much discontent, eastward: and on the plains of Cunaxa they met the great King and all his Persian host. Cyrus was burning with vindictive anger against his brother, and impetuously called to the Spartan Clearchus to charge the Persian centre, where Artaxerxes commanded himself in person. Clearchus replied that it was his duty to see that all should go well. The omens were favourable; the paeon sounded, and the left wing of the Persians broken fled; and Cyrus was saluted king. But Artaxerxes was not yet slain; and maddened with fury the usurper struck a blow at his brother's breast: at the same time wounded with a javelin he himself fell with eight of his chiefs. The victorious Greeks

meanwhile followed up their success still further; and the remaining Persian soldiers were pursued and routed. Offers of mediation then came from Artaxerxes: and after a month's delay it was agreed that Tissaphernes should escort the Greeks homeward to Ionia. But the security of their return was to be interrupted by the murder of their five generals through the perfidy of the Satrap: and the Spartan Clearchus was to suffer a traitor's death. It is here that amidst the universal despondency of his countrymen Xenophon stands forward as the champion-leader of the Return. Prompted by a vision he rouses his comrades from despair with remembrances of the valour which they had put forth against the Barbarian; and he is elected general by acclamation in the room of his murdered friend. The order and line of march is then determined on; Chirisophus will lead the van, and he himself with Timasion will take charge of the rear. The route lies up the left bank of the Tigris; and the Persians harass the retreating army with assaults of archers and slingers. A counter-force of fifty horsemen and two hundred Rhodian slingers however soon enabled Xenophon to lead his troops unmolested over the deep ravine which lay before them; and on the twentieth day's march they reached the mountain country of the Carduchi. And here they had to encounter constantly, in exchange for the organized attack of Tissaphernes, the irregular sallies and guerilla warfare of the mountaineers: until after scaling a lofty pass, while Xenophon and the main army were following the direct route through showers of rock and stone, which the

inhabitants rolled over their heads, at length they encamped on the banks of the Centrites. Before them were ranged fresh hosts of cavalry and infantry ; and no penetrable ford appeared. But as Xenophon lay down, he dreamed there fell off from his hands fresh chains ; and at the morning meal there ran into his tent two soldiers with word that a passage lay open across the stream, where no cavalry could approach ; and the whole army went over the ford with safety. So the table-lands of Western Armenia came to view ; and on the third day snow fell thick around them. Terrible in very truth were the distresses and suffering of the travellers ; and not Xenophon's own energy and active example could save very many from giving themselves over to their fate. An assault on the camp of the traitor Tiribazus did much indeed to relieve their ravenous hunger : and after fording the Euphrates, on the ninth day they were destined to obtain rest in the neighbouring village settlement. The march was shortly renewed : and after passing through a succession of native tribes, whose warfare and weapons were similar to those of the Carduchi, they came upon the city Gymnias. Thence conducted by a guide they ascended the hill-summit of Theches. And as they went up, suddenly a mighty shout arose, “The Sea, the Sea.” And so amidst embraces and many tears they knew that they had passed free out of the mysterious hill-country of the Barbarian. A week's journey brought them to Trapezus : and games were celebrated, and sacrifice was offered. And now after so long a land-march a general desire took the weary soldiers to sail in ship to By-

zantium, where Anaxibius was high-admiral ; and Chirisophus was sent thither to bring transports. But Chirisophus did not return ; and the army journeyed on to Cerasus, and thence to Cotyora. And about this time Xenophon conceived the plan of establishing his fellow-warriors in a colonial settlement on the shore of the Euxine ; but after much discussion in the army the project was abandoned. They therefore sailed forth to Harmene near Sinope, where Chirisophus met them with the message that Anaxibius would have them seek military service with him at the Bosphorus. It was here that Xenophon (the omens dissuading him) declined to lead into Greece the returning troops ; and Chirisophus was invested with the dignity of commander-in-chief. Heraclea was reached after two days' voyage ; where a serious mutiny broke up the army into three divisions, all of whom however mustered again at Calpe. Here Chirisophus died ; and in this harbour more than ever did Xenophon long to found a resting-place. But the minds of his followers were set on seeing fatherland ; while the omens for departure day by day continued to be unfavourable. At this point Cleander came from Byzantium, and induced by Xenophon's persuasive eloquence promised to conduct the Return. But the Gods willed it not ; and so he sailed away. Six days' march brought them onwards to Chrysopolis, whence Anaxibius, high-admiral, deluded the impoverished Greeks to Byzantium. The promised pay was not delivered ; and Byzantium was only saved from plunder and destruction through the tact and prudence of Xenophon himself. The army here-

upon disbanded ; and Xenophon took his leave, and sailed with Anaxibius homewards. At Cyzicus they met the new harmost Aristarchus, with whom Pharnabazus had already commenced negotiations ; and Anaxibius prevailed on Xenophon to bring across the Cyreian forces to his aid in punishment of the satrap's broken confidence. But an exchange for the service of the Thracian Seuthes drew off the soldiers, who after the hardships of a winter campaign were with difficulty able to obtain payment from the reinstated prince. An invitation here arrived, with offers of service against the Persian satraps, from the Ionian harmost Thimbron, to whom Xenophon resigned all that survived from the Ten Thousand. And the last fact recorded in the history of their march is the plunder of the castle of Aridatis, a wealthy Persian nobleman, near Pergamus.

About the time of his return from Thrace into Asia, after service with prince Seuthes, the historian probably received sentence of banishment from Athens on a charge of Laconism, *i.e.* as having been an ally of Cyrus, the Lacedæmonian friend and patron : although by some he is said to have returned to Athens, and there collected materials of the conversations of his master Socrates—that same Socrates, who, as tradition tells us, would have the modest boy follow him and learn whence men became good and noble, and who at Delium had borne him on his shoulders from the battle. In the latter case his service in the Lacedæmonian ranks at Coronea 394 B.C. furnishes his cause of exile. However this may be, within the fourth year after the conclusion of the Return, he accompanied Agesilaus

in his invasion of Northern Greece against the newly allied Thebans and Athenians; and was present at the battle of Coronea. Not long after he found a home at Scillus near Olympia; and there he built a temple to Diana, whom he enriched with spoil from his Cyreian marches; and games were instituted against the festival, and he followed hunting, and feasted friends, and tilled his lands; and in this retirement wrote his *Histories*. We may wish that he was not compelled to abandon his home at Scillus, though we are told that after Leuctra, 374 B.C., he was forced to fly to Corinth. Subsequently his sentence of banishment was revoked: and he became again an Athenian citizen and knight. His son Gryllus fell fighting bravely at Mantinea 362 B.C.

CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF  
XENOPHON.

(1) THE moral qualities of our historian may be mainly gathered from a review of his conduct while engaged in conducting the retreat of the Ten Thousand. On more than one occasion Xenophon here stands forward as of intrepid courage, keen tact, and never-failing energy. Unlike many of his fellow-generals, he seeks no personal aggrandizement: the soldier is his friend, and not his slave: he is at once kind-hearted, temperate, and affable. Retaliation for wrong and obloquy is unknown to him: injustice is repaid with justice, meanness is met with generosity. When character and country are assailed, he can make a smart retort; and his opponents never fail to find an apt reply from him. Inbued with the precepts of his mentor Socrates, he sets high faith in divinations, dreams, and omens: Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis are amongst his favourite objects of worship. As a husband and a father he preserves the ordinary principles of Greek morality; and to plunder a barbarian seems to him in strict accordance with the equity of warfare. A natural love of novelty, although it seldom overcomes his prudence, yet betrays him into varied fortune: he exchanges the life of a man of letters for a soldier's lot, a soldier's hardships for

the quiet retirement of a country farm, with an indifferent evenness of spirit. The spur of adventurous ambition prompts him to arms against his fellow-citizens: distaste for a corrupt democracy calls forth strong foreign partialities: but the constant patience of an amiable mind will have him confess no shame and no regret at his country's condemnation of unfaithfulness.

(2) Diogenes Laertius ascribes the following works to Xenophon, all of which we now possess: *Hellenica*, *Anabasis*, *Cyropaedeia*, *Polity of Athens*, *Polity of Sparta*, *Memorabilia of Socrates*, *Apology of Socrates*, *Symposium*, *Agesilaus*, *Hiero*, *On Economics*, *On the Athenian Revenues*, *Hipparchicus*, *On Horsemanship*, *On Hunting*. Over this varied field of subjects flows forth constantly a pleasing elegance of language, which renders and will render our historian dear to the scholars of Greek antiquity. And so it was that with the ancient critics such delightsomeness won for Xenophon the names of "Attic Bee," and "Attic Muse." Cicero would fain believe "that with his mouth spoke the Muses, for his language is sweeter than honey." Quintilian ascribes to him "an unaffected sweetness, to which no affectation could attain—that Pericles' declaration of the ancient comedy could with justice be transferred to him, that on *his* lips sat the goddess of Persuasion." The purity of his periods, the choice selection of his phrases, his grace of style cannot but be attractive; and we find the surface of such a model present to our touch little we would desire to smooth away. He will not strive indeed to sculpture his conversations after the mighty statues

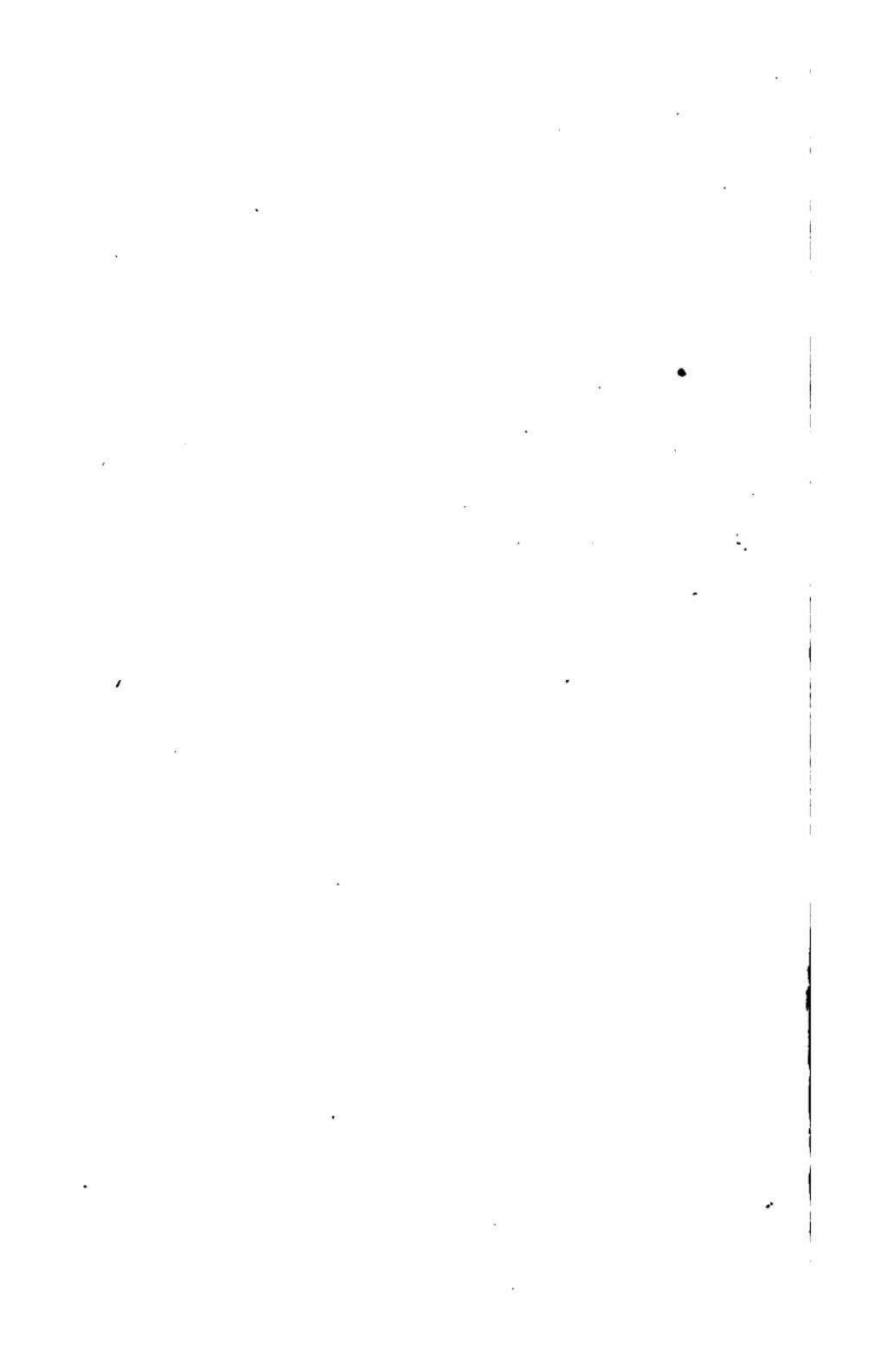
of the rhetorical Thucydides: we miss alike the kindling poetry of the impassioned Plato: and hence a certain slenderness of diction often assumes the place of more majestic dignity. Elaborate style and subtlety of words are equally absent from his purpose: poetical expression he may introduce but not develope: an even and unstudied perspicuity will not admit the depth of more obscure research. The essential manliness of the historian-soldier favours his scenes of warfare, rather than of drama; while an aversion to affected labour disregards much intricate detail. His speeches are well-chosen, and display strong vigour: philosophy with him only dictates a practical morality. A want of patriotism may lend a colour to his adopted creed: but the truth of history never suffers at his hands deliberate disguise.

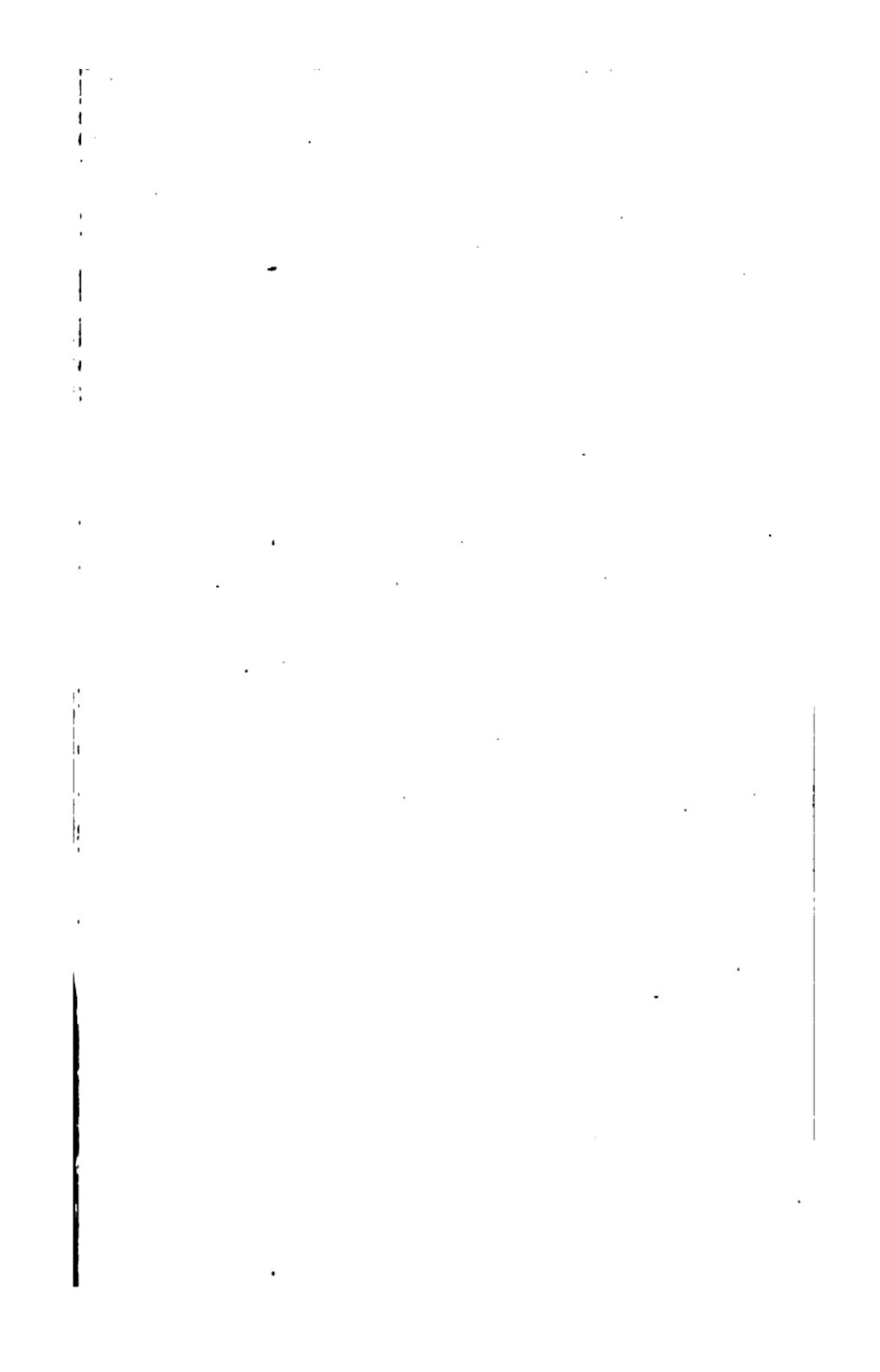
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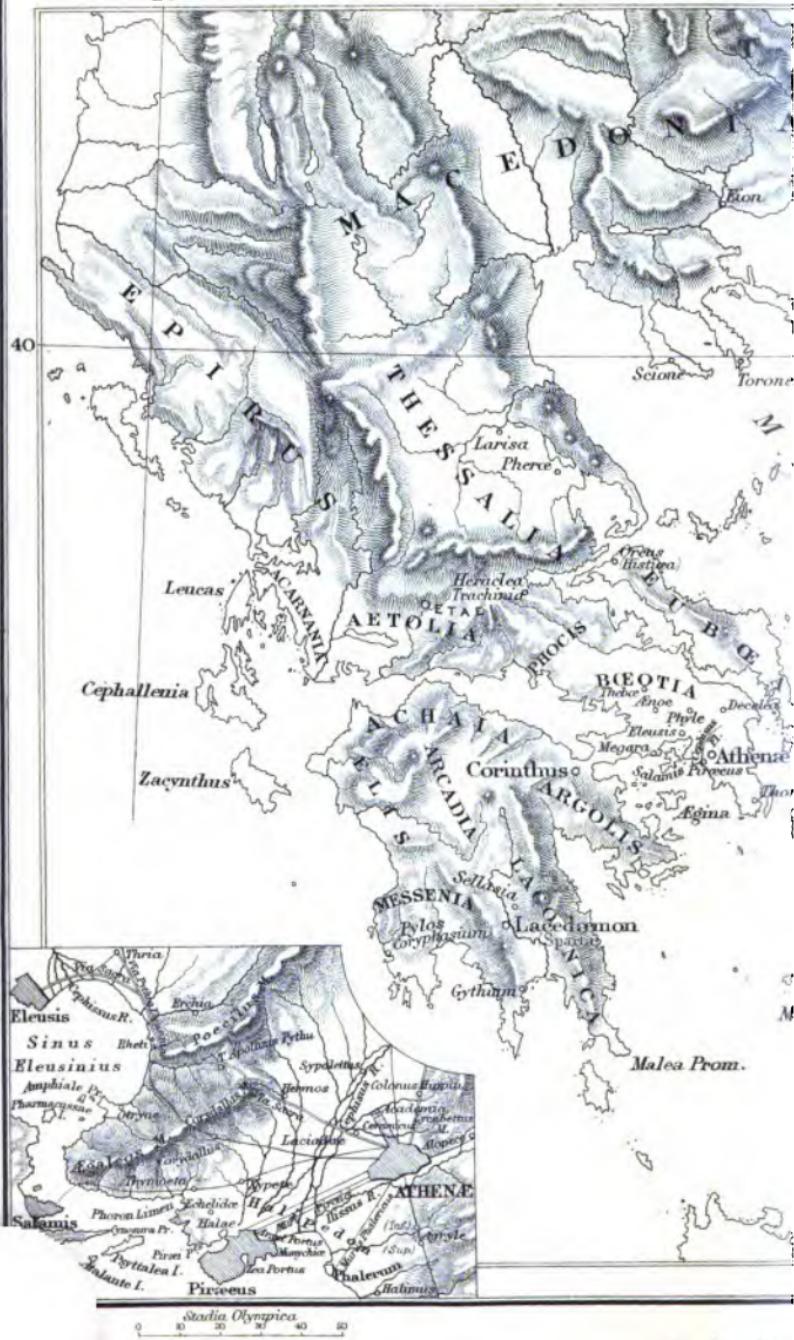
THE period comprised in the first two books of Xenophon's *Hellenics* (411—403 B.C.) embraces the closing scenes of the memorable war between Athens and Sparta. Thucydides, at the commencement of his writings, states emphatically the importance of his subject, with which the earlier periods of Grecian History could afford no comparison. The real cause of the war, we shall remember, was the fear entertained by the Lacedæmonians of the growing power of Athens, a fear which had gradually increased since the rebuilding of the city walls and the fortification of the great harbour of Piræus: the alleged causes, the alliance of Athens with Corcyra and the siege of Potidæa. Ever since the battles of Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.) the maritime empire of Athens, based upon the confederacy of Delos, had gradually risen in greatness: the Athenian allies had become her subjects (owing rather to circumstances perhaps than to any positive aggression), and the independence of Greece was threatened. At that crisis the high influence of Pericles prevented any concession on the part of Athens towards the independence of her allies, which was then required by the congress of the Lacedæmonian states; and open hostilities commenced (431 B.C.). Following the events of the war, we shall call to mind the sufferings caused

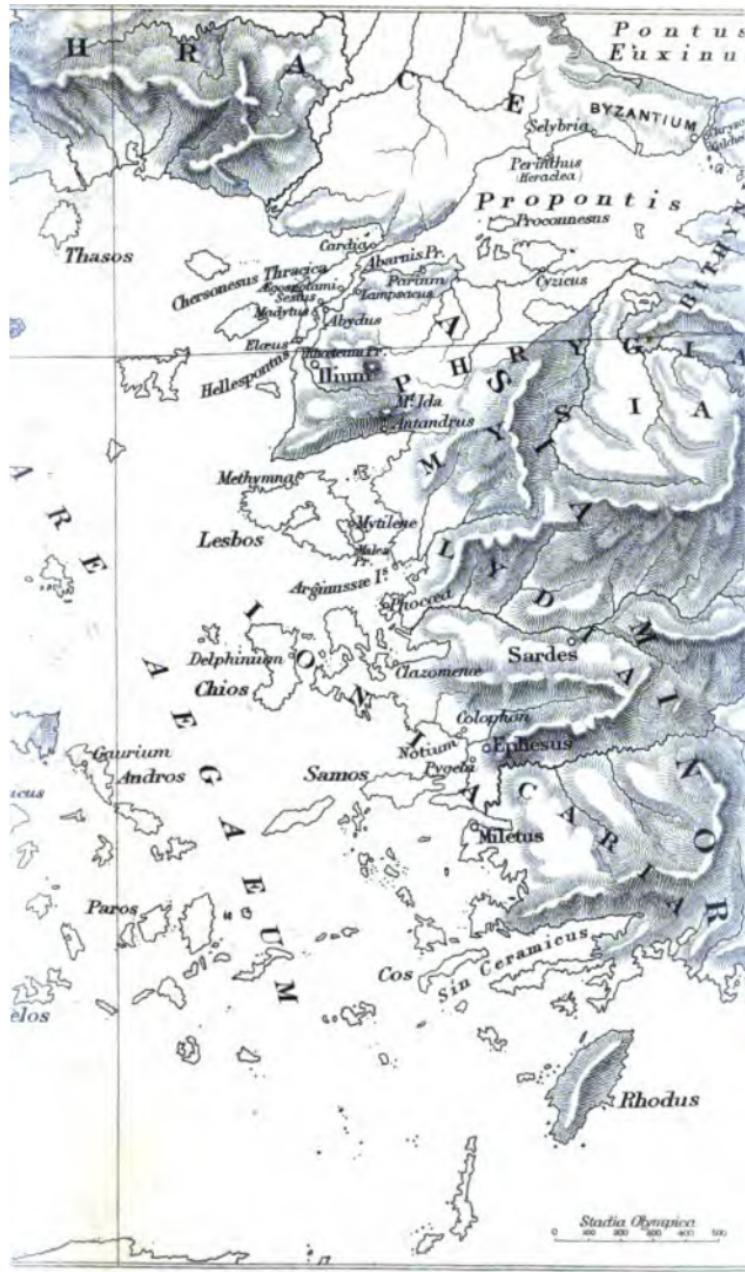
by the annual invasion of the Lacedæmonians into the Athenian territory—the terrible visitation of the pestilence, and the violent excesses consequent upon its ravages (430 B.C.)—the revolt of Mitylene, and the severe punishment of its inhabitants (428—427 B.C.)—the blockade of Sphacteria, and the unexpected capture of the Lacedæmonian prisoners (425 B.C.). In the eighth year of the war (424 B.C.), the failure to reconquer Megara, and the disastrous defeat of Delium began to mar the success which had hitherto attended the Athenian arms: in addition to which, several important towns in Thrace, including Amphipolis, fell into the hands of Brasidas. A truce thereupon ensued for a year, and early in the spring of 421 B.C., what is called the Peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a general restoration of all places taken in the war, the Athenians only keeping Nisæa in compensation for the Theban Platea. The year 420 B.C., however, found the Spartan allies generally dissatisfied with the peace; and next comes the ascendancy of Alcibiades, leading to the two years' campaign in Peloponnesus in conjunction with Elis, Argos, and Mantinea, and ending in the complete re-establishment of Lacedæmonian supremacy. The seventeenth year of the war (415 B.C.) saw the departure of the Athenian expedition to Sicily: the eighteenth, the preparations of Nicias for the siege of Syracuse, and the arrival of the Spartan general Gylippus: the nineteenth, the total destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily. Such a defeat naturally encouraged a general revolt of the Athenian allies; and we find Samos alone remaining firm in her allegiance, and henceforward the head-quarters of the

Athenian fleet. Lesbos was recovered 411 B.C.; and at the suggestion of Alcibiades, the democracy was abolished, and the oligarchical government of the Four Hundred reigned supreme at Athens. These, in their turn, were overthrown: the proposed assembly of 5000 was demanded, and a fair and effective government established. Alcibiades meanwhile had been recalled, and the principal leaders of the 400 had fled to Decelea. With a short notice of several events on the coast of Asia, the history of Thucydides ends abruptly; and Xenophon sets forth the remaining details of the war from the winter of 411 B.C.









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H.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

### BOOK I.

#### CHAPTER I.

Renewed combats in the Hellespont. Agesandridas defeats  $\gamma$ mocharès. Dorieus sails up from Rhodes, evades Athenian  $\tau$ , is succoured by Mindarus. Obstinate conflict off Abydus, Alcibiades ensures victory for Athenians (§§ 1—7).

Alcibiades seized by Tissaphernes and confined at Sardis, escapes to Clazomenæ: joins forces with Thrasybulus and Eratomenes. Athenian victory at Cyzicus: Mindarus slain; Cyprian fleet taken (§§ 8—19).

Ransom exacted from Cyzicus, Perinthus, and Selybria. Byzopolis occupied: toll levied on passing ships. Pharnabazus aids discouraged Lacedæmonians (§§ 20—26).

Banishment of Hermocrates and colleagues. Lacedæmonians expelled from Thasos. Repulse of Agis before walls of Mende. Clearchus sent to Byzantium. Carthaginians take Mytilus and Himera (§§ 27—37).

#### CHAPTER II.

Thoricus fortified. Thrasyllus sails to Samos. Ravages Miletus and takes Colophon. Is defeated with severe loss at Sestus by Tissaphernes and Syracusans (§§ 1—11).

Takes four Syracusan vessels off Lesbos. Joins Alcibiades. Athenian armament at Sestus. United forces fortify Ipsacus, and establish winter-quarters. Soldiers of Alcibiades refuse to fraternize with those of Thrasyllus. Joint ex-

petition against Abydus: defeat of Pharnabazus. Concord in Athenian ranks (§§ 12—17).

Lacedæmonians dismiss under treaty from Pylos revolted Helots. Achæans at Heraclea in Trachis betray settlers. La-botas governor from Sparta slain with seven hundred. Revolt of Medes from Darius and subsequent submission (§§ 18, 19).

### CHAPTER III.

Temple at Phocæa struck by lightning. Athenians attack Calchedon. Alcibiades extorts Calchedonians' property from Bithynian Thracians. Hippocrates governor from Sparta slain in defence of Calchedon (§§ 1—6).

Convention concluded by Athenians with Pharnabazus. Calchedon becomes a tributary dependency of Athens. Pharnabazus engages to escort Athenian envoys to Susa. Special covenant of Alcibiades with the satrap (§§ 7—13).

Byzantium besieged by Athenians. Failure of assault. Clearchus seeks aid from Pharnabazus. Citizens meanwhile pressed by famine admit Alcibiades and Athenians. Surrender of Byzantium (§§ 14—22).

### CHAPTER IV.

Lacedæmonian embassy favourably received at Persian court. Pharnabazus detains Athenian envoys at Cyrus' instigation. Unlimited authority over sea-coast entrusted to Cyrus. Envoys sent back from Cappadocia in third year to Athenian armament (§§ 1—7).

Alcibiades brings Athenian fleet to Samos: levies one hundred talents on coast of Caria. Thrasybulus attacks Thrace: reduces Thasos and revolted towns. Thrasyllus conducts remaining armament to Athens. Alcibiades in exile elected general (§§ 8—10).

Return of Alcibiades to Athens. Visits Paros and Gythium. Arrives at Piræus on festival of Plynteria. Varied sentiment and feelings of Athenians (§§ 11—17).

Hesitation and distrust of Alcibiades on landing. Support of friends and kinsmen. Defends himself in council and

assembly. Is proclaimed general with full powers. Renews procession by land to Eleusis. Sails against Andros, thence to Samos (§§ 18—23).

CHAPTER V.

Lysander supersedes Cratesippidas as high-admiral. Sails by Rhodes Cos and Miletus to Ephesus. Lacedæmonian complaints before Cyrus of Tissaphernes. Promises of Cyrus. Increase of seamen's pay. Athenian envoys not received by Cyrus. Lysander refits at Ephesus (§§ 1—10).

Alcibiades joins Thrasylus at Phocæa. Athenian fleet left at Samos under Antiochus. Defeat of Antiochus at Notium during absence of Alcibiades. Lysander refuses engagement with Alcibiades before harbour of Ephesus. Lacedæmonians take Delphinium and Eion (§§ 11—15).

Displeasure at Athens against Alcibiades. Conon named general with nine colleagues. Complaints against Alcibiades in camp. Retires to Thracian Chersonese. Phanosthenes captures two Thurian triremes. Dorieus liberated. Conon plunders enemy's coasts. Carthaginians reduce Agrigentum by famine (§§ 16—21).

CHAPTER VI.

Callicratidas supersedes Lysander. Silences the boasts of Lysander. Murmurs and ill-will repressed by his rectitude. Refuses to court Persians. His appeal to the Milesians. Receives supplies from Miletus and Chios (§§ 1—12).

Storms Methymna. Liberates captives and Athenian garrison. Blockades Conon and Athenian fleet at Mitylene. Strong position of Callicratidas. Stratagem of Conon to send for relief to Athens. Callicratidas defeats squadron of Diomedon (§§ 13—23).

Great Athenian fleet equipped and sent to Arginusæ. Callicratidas leaves Eteonicus with fifty sail at Mitylene, himself withdraws to Cape Malea. Marshalling of respective fleets. Battle of Arginusæ. Defeat of Lacedæmonians, and death of Callicratidas. Eteonicus escapes to Chios (§§ 24—38).

## CHAPTER VII.

Recall of generals except Conon. Adimantus and Philocles named colleagues. Protomachus and Aristogenes abscond. Archedemus brings Erasinides to trial. Arrest of remaining generals by senate on motion of Timocrates. Debate in public assembly. Theramenes accuses generals of not saving shipwrecked crews (§§ 1—4).

Defence of generals favourably received. Adjournment to future assembly. Method of trial entrusted to senate. Occurrence of Apaturian festival. Unconstitutional proposition of Callixenus. Assembly inflamed by narrative of shipwrecked seamen (§§ 5—11).

Opposition by Euryptolemus. Lyciscus threatens opponents. Euryptolemus withdraws indictment against Callixenus. Opposition by presidents of assembly overruled. Socrates alone refuses to put the question (§§ 12—15).

Amendment and speech of Euryptolemus. Moves separate trial for generals according to decree of Cannophus. Amendment carried by show of hands. Objection on oath of Menecles. Six generals condemned and executed. Subsequent repentance of Athenians. Impeachment of Callixenus and others proposed. Escape of prisoners. Disgrace and death of Callixenus (§§ 16—35).

## BOOK II.

## CHAPTER I.

Eteonicus suppresses plot of his distressed forces to plunder Chios. Levies money upon the Chians. Allies ask for Lysander as high-admiral. Is sent as vice-admiral. Cyrus puts to death Autoboesaces and Mitræus (§§ 1—9).

Lysander summons Eteonicus from Chios and refits fleet. Solicits and receives supplies from Cyrus. Tributes and revenues assigned to him by Cyrus, who goes up to visit his dying father. Storms Cedreæ and sails to Rhodes (§§ 10—15).

Athenians plunder King's country. Lysander sails to Abydus and storms Lampsacus. Athenian fleet anchors at Elæus. Proceeds to Sestus and Ægospotami. Lysander declines battle. Athenians reject advice of Alcibiades (§§ 16—26).

Surprise and capture of Athenian fleet. Athenian commanders taken except Conon, who seeks refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus. Massacre of Philocles and prisoners. Adimantus alone saved alive (§§ 27—32).

CHAPTER II.

Lysander occupies Byzantium and Calchedon. Sends the garrisons which surrender to Athens. Refits at Lampsacus. State-ship Paralus brings news of defeat at Ægospotami to Athens. Citizens prepare for siege (§§ 1—4).

Lysander establishes oligarchy in Lesbos. Eteonicus spreads revolt Thrace-ward. Samos alone continues Athenian allegiance. Pausanias encamps in the Academy. Lysander restores Æginetans and Melians and blockades Piræus (§§ 5—9).

Sufferings at Athens. Amnesty proposed and adopted. Ravages of famine. Propositions for capitulation refused by ephors. Lacedæmonians require demolition of long walls. Archedratus imprisoned for proposing to submit to demands. Theramenes sent as envoy to Lysander. After delay reports necessity of treating with ephors (§§ 10—17).

Theramenes sent to Sparta to conclude peace on any terms. Debate about terms at Sparta. Corinthians and Thebans deprecate truce. Peace granted on severe conditions. Surrender of Athens: demolition of long walls: Piræus dismantled: fleet given up. Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse (§§ 18—24).

CHAPTER III.

Nomination of the Thirty. Agis disbands army. Lycophron of Pheræ defeats Larisaens and others. Dionysius loses Gela and Camarina to Carthaginians. Lysander restores oligarchy at Samos. His triumphant return to Sparta (§§ 1—10).

Thirty delay to draw up laws. New Senate appointed. Execution of democrats without trial. Lacedæmonian garrison introduced with Callibius as Governor. Multiplied and indiscriminate executions by the Thirty (§§ 11—14).

Dissident views of Critias and Theramenes. Opposition of Theramenes to violent measures. Critias and Thirty nominate three thousand partisans. Remaining hoplites disarmed. Murders and spoliations by the Thirty. Seizure of resident aliens (§§ 15—21).

Theramenes refuses to join in seizure. Is denounced by Critias in Senate. Speech of Critias. Reply of Theramenes favourably received. Violence of Critias. Condemnation, seizure, and death of Theramenes (§§ 22—56).

#### CHAPTER IV.

Increased tyranny of the Thirty. Thrasybulus occupies Phyle from Thebes. Reinforced by exiles repulses Thirty. Attacks and defeats enemy by surprise. Thirty seize Eleusis by stratagem. Execution of Eleusinians at Athens (§§ 1—9).

Thrasybulus marches by night to Piræus. Occupies Munychia and defeats Thirty. Critias slain. Colloquy during burial-truce. Speech of Cleocritus. Discouragement of oligarchs. Deposition of Thirty and appointment of Ten (§§ 10—23).

Thirty retire to Eleusis. Ten carry on war with exiles. Increasing strength of Thrasybulus. Lysander invited by Thirty visits Attica to reduce exiles. Pausanias envying Lysander joins forces (§§ 24—30).

Pausanias attacks Piræus with partial success. Favours cause of peace. Embassy sent to Sparta on question of peace. Pacification granted by Pausanias and Lacedæmonian authorities. Evacuation of Attica. Thrasybulus and exiles restored. Harangue of Thrasybulus. Restoration of democracy. Capture of Eleusis. General amnesty (§§ 31—43).

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ.

### Α.

A. C. 411. **ΜΕΤΑ** δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις 1  
νῦστερον ἡλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης  
ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐθις  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ' ὀλίγον 2  
δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς διαιγόρου ἐκ Ρόδου εἰς Ἐλ-  
λήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι  
καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἄμα ἡμέρᾳ. κατιδάν δὲ ὁ τῶν  
Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.  
οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἀς  
Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνέβιβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ  
τριήρεις, ὡς ἦνον γε, περὶ τὸ Ροίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ 3  
γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπό τε τῶν  
νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν  
εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πρά-  
ξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδάν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ 4  
θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ  
καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως

5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἥραν μέχρι δεῖλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ δυοῖν  
 6 δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ὑππῳ  
 εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρετελεύτησε. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο.  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἀς αὐτὸις ἀπώλεσαν  
 8 κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ φέροντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἐξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ ὁ Θρασύλος, εἰς ὃν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγ-  
 9 γελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἥλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾳ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην  
 ἔνεια τε καὶ δῶρα ἀγοντα συλλαβὼν εἰρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθη-  
 10 ναῖοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὑστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ὑππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν  
 11 εἰς Κλαζομενάς. οἱ δὲ ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῦν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 A. C. 410. μέλλοντα ναυσὸν ἔξηκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἤκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ

έπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἔξ 'Αβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἰεν εἰς Κύζικον αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἥλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῦν ἐκεῖστε ἐκέλευστεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι 12 ἥδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἡργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ 13 τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἴστια αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἔξ καὶ ὄγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἥκουν εἰς Προικόνυμησον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐπύ- 14 θοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἴη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεξοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν. Οὐ γάρ ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἀφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ 15 ὥρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, διὰ ἀλίσκηται, εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος 16 ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῷ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἱθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἥλιου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾶς τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα

17 ούσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἴδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ούσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἡ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἴδὼν δὲ ὁ Μινδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβάσθεν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φέροντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προικόνησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν 19 οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν 20 ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προικόνησον. 21 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον· Σηλυβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εῦμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον φέροντο. παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαιμονα

γράμματα πέμφθέντα ἐᾶλθσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε Ἐρρει τὰ καλά. Μίνδαρος ἀπέσσυνα. πεινῶντες τῶνδρες. ἀπορίους τί χρὴ δρῆν. Φαρνά-<sup>24</sup> βαζός δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοπονησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων, ώς διτῶν πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἔως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ἦ, ιμάτιον τὸ ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἔκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὑλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἄμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ φρουρῷ ἥρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὸ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρα-<sup>27</sup> κοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἐρμοκράτους προηγορύντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ώς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἀπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίσ-

την διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευνον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἀν<sup>28</sup> ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευνον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῦν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγου ἔφασαν<sup>29</sup> χρῆναι διδόναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένον, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τε Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλεῦστοι κατάξειν αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο<sup>30</sup> ὅποι ηβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἵδια δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἐρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. Ὡν γάρ ἐγύνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τῶν τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πρῷ καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξιποῦτο ὅ, τι ἔμελλεν ἡ λέγειν ἡ πράττειν, κάκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους.<sup>31</sup> ἐκ τούτων Ἐρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτήσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε

καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον στάσεως <sup>32</sup> γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστῆς Ἐτείνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισταφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἡθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἔξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρό- <sup>33</sup> νους Θρασύλου ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ὄντος Ἀγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἥλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Θρασύλος δὲ ἔξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον ὡς μαχούμενος, ἀν προσίωσιν. Ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἀγις <sup>34</sup> ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἤσαν ἐφ' ἄ ἡκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὁπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἵππέας δὲ ἐκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα. Ἀγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας Ἰδὼν πλοῖα <sup>35</sup> πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὅφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἴργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοιτᾶ, κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ραμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. δόξαντος <sup>36</sup> δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἐκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαΐδεκα στρα-

τιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἡ ταχειών φέχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, εἰς ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν φερετοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.

2 Δ. C. 409. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, φερετοῖς ὁ ἡνὸς Ὀλυμπιὰς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ἡ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εύβωτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτη Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτίμου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θρασύλος δὲ τὰ τέ ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἄμα καὶ πελταστὰς ἐσομένους, ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδήρου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. 3 οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπτιλτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας 4 ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. τῷ δὲ ὑστεραὶ ἐπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης

υνκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία 9 φύν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἴδιας λείας, βοηθούσαντων τῶν ἵππεων ἔνα μὲν ζώδιον ἔλαβεν, ἐπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Θρασύλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν 10 τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσόμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πόλλην καὶ ἵππευς ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θρασύλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη γέρα μετὰ τὴν τεισθολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὄπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἵππευς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ γέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν σφίσιν, οἵ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἵ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἔτερων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἥκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππιωνὸς καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελιωούσιαι δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὄπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν τούτους δὲ τρεφάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἔξι αὐτῶν ὡς εἱ ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τρόπαιον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν 11

καὶ ἔτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις  
 καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖσι  
 ἔδωκαν καὶ καινὴ καὶ ἴδιᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτέ-  
 λειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεὶ Σελινουσίοις δέ,  
 11 ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες  
 ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κἀκεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς  
 12 ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. ὁρμοῦντες  
 δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἰδον παραπλεούσας  
 ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι·  
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον  
 αὐτοὺς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς  
 13 Ἐφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θρα-  
 σύλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου δύντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυ-  
 γάδα, ἀπέλυσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν  
 Σηστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἄπασα  
 14 ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήσει,  
 ἐν φοίνικας οἱ αἰχμαλώτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ  
 Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν,  
 ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς φόχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς  
 15 Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκι-  
 βιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται  
 οὐκ ἡβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλου συντάττεσθαι,  
 ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν δύντες ἀγτητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι  
 ἥκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἄπαντες Λάμψακον  
 16 τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον Φαρ-  
 νάβαξος δὲ ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ  
 ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἔδιώκεν ἔχων  
 τούς τε ἵππεας καὶ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν,

ῶν ἥρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. / ἐκ 17  
 δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλου.  
 ἐξῆλθον δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλας ἔξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.  
 τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ 18  
 Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστώτας ἐκ Μαλέας  
 ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν  
 καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχωίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποί-  
 κους, ἀντιτεταγμένους πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολε-  
 μίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν  
 πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος ἀρμοστῷ  
 Λαβώτῃ. καὶ δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐληγγεν οὐτος, ἐν φ καὶ 19  
 Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀπο-  
 στάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. ✓

Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιώντος ἔτους δὲ ἐν Φωκαΐᾳ 3  
 Α. C. 408. νεώς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστήρος

ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμῶν ἐληγγε, Παντακλέους  
 μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἀρχοντος δὲ Ἀντιγένους, ἕαρος  
 ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 παρεληλυθότων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Προι-  
 κόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ 2  
 Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπε-  
 δεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι  
 προσιώντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν λείαν  
 ἀπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρῆκας ἀστυ-  
 γείτουνας ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε 3  
 ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἴππεας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς  
 παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς  
 ἀπήγει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή,

ι πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκι-  
βιάδης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε  
λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε  
τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάτ-  
της εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὃσον οἶον τ'  
δὴν ξυλίνῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθ' Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ  
Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξτραγε  
τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι  
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν  
περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιῷ τε καὶ  
εἰπποις πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θρα-  
σύλος ἐμάχοντο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὄπλίταις χρόνου  
πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὄπλίτας τέ τινας  
καὶ τοὺς ἵππας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν  
ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν  
τὸ πόλιν. ἄμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος  
συμμίξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπο-  
ρίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς  
δυτῶν, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν  
Καλχηδονίων, οὐ δὴν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ  
τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν φέρετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσ-  
ποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ  
δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνά-  
βαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι  
Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις  
Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγέν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον  
παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φέρον Καλχη-  
δονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὃσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὄφειλό-  
μενα χρήματα ἀποδούναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολε-  
μεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως

πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις <sup>10</sup> οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν ἦν ἐκείνην δὲ ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤκεν ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἵππεῖς πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνά- <sup>11</sup> βαζὸς δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεῖνον ὀμνύναι περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὀμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὀμεῖται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὀμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει <sup>12</sup> οὓς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάτει, ὁ δὲ ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τόν τε κοινὸν ὅρκον καὶ ἴδιᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβα- <sup>13</sup> ζὸς μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπήγει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοδίκης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἔτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἐρμοκράτης, ἥδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἥγεν<sup>14</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐποιούρκουν περιτεχ- σάντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ <sup>15</sup> ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν "Ἐλιξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ <sup>16</sup> δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἥδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ'

ισχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι  
 17 τὴν πόλιν. / Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστής οἰόμενος  
 οὐδένα ἀν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα  
 ὡς ἐδίνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἐλίξφ, διέβη παρὰ τὸν  
 Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώ-  
 ταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληφόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων,  
 αἱ ἡσαν ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμ-  
 μέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ  
 καὶ ἀς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης  
 ὧν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείσαν,  
 ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατό-  
 18 πεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. / ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ  
 Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων  
 Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυ-  
 19 κοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου  
 ὑστερον ἐν Λακεδαιμονὶ διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέ-  
 φυγεν, ὅτι οὐ προδοίη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι,  
 παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους,  
 Βυζάντιος ὧν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα  
 σῖτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις  
 διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι,  
 οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἔνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμο-  
 20 νίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοί-  
 ξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον  
 21 εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἐλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες  
 ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 πάντη οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ, τι

ποιήσαιεν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν <sup>22</sup> ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιῇ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς <sup>4</sup>  
 A.C. 407. Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδιείῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα ἤτα  
 περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομέ- <sup>2</sup>  
 νου δὲ τοῦ ἕαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα  
 ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων  
 πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάν-  
 των ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἰεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ  
 Κύρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη καὶ συμ- <sup>3</sup>  
 πολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς  
 κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλείον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν γῇ  
 ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κύρου κάρανον τῶν εἰς  
 Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, <sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κύρου εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα  
 παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν.  
 Κύρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἡ παραδοῦναι τοὺς <sup>5</sup>  
 πρέσβεις ἔαντῷ ἡ μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βου-  
 λόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πρα-  
 τόμενα. <sup>6</sup> Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς <sup>6</sup>  
 πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ  
 βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὡς μηδὲν  
 μέμψηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἤσαν, ἐδεήθη <sup>7</sup>  
 τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων ὅμωμοκέναι  
 ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα  
 πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς

ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας,  
ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
ἀποπλέειν οἴκαδε ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου ἐκεῖθεν  
δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἐπλευσε τῆς Καρίας  
9. εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας  
έκατὸν τάλαντα ἥκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον.] Θρασύβουλος  
δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὥχετο, ἐκεῖ  
δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους  
μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον ἔχουσαν  
κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ.  
10 Θρασύλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας  
κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἥκειν αὐτὸν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
στρατηγὸν εἴλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ  
Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν  
11 οἴκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ  
χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν,  
ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆν  
τῶν τριήρων, ἀς ἐπινθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι  
παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλουν  
12 ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα  
έαυτῷ εῦνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένους  
καὶ ἴδιᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέ-  
πλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιά ἡμέρα, ἡ Πλυντήρια ἥγεν  
ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς,  
ὅ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ  
καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναῖων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἀν ἄφα-  
13 σθαι. καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς  
καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ὅχλος ἡθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς,

θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἵδεν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μέν, ὡς κράτιστος εἴη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος ἀπελογήθη ὡς οὐδικαίως φύγοι, ἐπι-βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὐξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ, ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς <sup>14</sup> αἰτίας ἅρτι γεγενῆμένης ὡς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἔχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν φρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἡμαγ- <sup>15</sup> κάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἔχθιστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὄρῶν ἔξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ <sup>16</sup> τῶν οἴων περ αὐτὸς δυτῶν εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γάρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἔλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἔχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἴοισπερ πρότερον, <sup>17</sup> ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν δυτῶν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμῶν καταστῆναι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὄρμισ- <sup>18</sup> θεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς

έχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος  
 19 ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείησαν. κατι-  
 δὼν δὲ Εύρυππάλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, αὐτοῦ  
 δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς  
 φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποθάσσαντες εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄποιτο,  
 20 μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς  
 ηδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ  
 οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἀν τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὸν αὐτοκράτωρ,  
 ὡς οἰός τε ὧν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως  
 δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν  
 21 ἐποίησεν ἔξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄπαντας· μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὅπλίτας μὲν πεν-  
 τακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ  
 ἑκατόν, ναῦς δὲ ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῳ  
 μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρον ἀφεστηκυῦναν τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαν-  
 τος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρημένοι κατὰ  
 22 γῆν στρατηγού. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ  
 στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειον· ἐκβοη-  
 θήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλει-  
 σαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινας ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς,  
 23 καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας, οὓς αὐτόθι ἤσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ  
 τρόπαιόν τε ἔστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας  
 ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

5 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ  
 χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδᾳ τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθούσιας

Λύσανδρον ἔξεπεμψαν ναίαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μῆλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα, μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ήκεινος, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατά τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρους ἔλεγον ἀπεποιηκὼς εἴη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. Κύρος δὲ τόν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἄλλα πάντα ποιήσειν ἔχων δὲ ἥκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπῃ, τοῖς ἴδιοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἀ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐδώκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν, ἐφ' οὐκ ἐκάθητο, δυντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπήγνουν καὶ ἐκέλευνον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν, διδάσκοντες δὲ τι ἀν οὗτος δὲ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατὸν δέ εἶναι παρ' ἀ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἔχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὅποσας ἀν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ προπιὼν ὁ Κύρος ἤρετο, τί ἀν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἰπεν δὲ Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τουτοῦ τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν δὲ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ τριώβολον. καὶ τόν τε προσοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ

8 στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἐπεμπονοῦσι  
 9 δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου,  
 σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες ἵσχυροὶ  
 ὕστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτὸι ἐν αὐτοῖς στα-  
 10 σιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ  
 ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ  
 οὖσας ναῦς ἐνευήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐπισκευάζων  
 11 καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρα-  
 σύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἥκοντα τειχίζειν Φώ-  
 καιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας  
 12 μὴ ἐπιπλεῦν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν  
 λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς  
 13 πρώρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύ-  
 σανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας  
 ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ  
 ἐβοήθουν πλείστι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντά-  
 ἔξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ  
 τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις  
 14 ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἔκαστος ἦνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐνα-  
 μάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρ-  
 μέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες  
 πεντεκαΐδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖσ-  
 τοι ἔξεφυγον, οἱ δὲ ἔζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ  
 τάς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι

εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς 15 Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττούσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὅληγῳ ὕστερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡιόνα. οἱ δὲ ἐν 16 οἴκων Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἱόμενοι δι’ ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐλούντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινόδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θρασύλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ 17 στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 18 Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσι ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρον ἐπεμψαν Φανοσθένην τέτταρας ναῦς. ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυ- 19 χῶν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἄπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὃντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κό- 20 νων δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἦ

έκατον, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων στρατηγῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐληίζετο. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν φέρεται Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεις καὶ πεζῆς στρατιὰς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ ἐπτὰ μῆνας.

6 Α. C. 406. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ὡς ἡ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς

νεώς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἥδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἔπειμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδουν δὲ Λυσάνδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νευκηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὐδὲ ἥσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδούναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὅμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῦν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς δὲ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἱς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὐσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. καταμαθὼν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαξόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν

τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γυγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀγθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γνωσκόντων, ἀπέρους δὲ θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε

Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος <sup>5</sup> εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ’ ἐμέ ἐγώ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευσόμενα ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀ ἐγώ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῶν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστώτα ἐνθάδε.

Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι πειθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ’ ἀ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον ἥτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, ὁργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς "Ελληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύοντιν ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἦν σωθῆ οἴκαδε, κατά γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν" Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κἀκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς <sup>8</sup> Λακεδαιμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν·

Ἐμοὶ μέν, ὡς Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἀρ-

χαυσι πείθεσθαι· ύμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους·  
 εἶναι εἰς πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις  
 9 πλεῖστα κακὰ ἥδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεποιθέναι. δεῖ δὲ  
 ύμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἀν  
 τάχιστά τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους, ἔως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος ἡκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ  
 10 ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἀξούτας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρ-  
 χούτα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ δυτα  
 οἴχεται· Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνουν  
 11 θύρας φοιτάν οὐκ ἡδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι. ὑπισ-  
 χνοῦμαι δὲ ύμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν  
 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ φέντε ἀν ἐκείνα προσδεχάμεθα χάριν  
 ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν  
 δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.  
 12 - Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοί,  
 καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, δεδιότες  
 εἰστηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελ-  
 λόμενοι ἴδια. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνος καὶ ἐκ  
 Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστω τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφο-  
 διασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μῆθυμναν  
 13 πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μῆθυμ-  
 ναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων δυτῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχόντων ἀττικιζόντων,  
 14 προσβαλὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν  
 οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπαξον οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ  
 δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας  
 εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευσόντων τῶν συμμάχων  
 ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μῆθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαντοῦ

γε ἀρχοντος οὐδένα 'Ελλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνα- 1/ τὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν 15 ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἰπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, δπώς μὴ ἐκεῖσε φύγοι. Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὐ<sup>16</sup> πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πόλλων πληρωμάτων εἰς δλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ κάτα- φεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. Καλ- λικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώ- κων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ 17 ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἡναγ- κάσθη. ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὖσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ 18 λιμένι ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκ- πλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἥλθεν. ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ 19 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδα- μόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας

έκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοιλην ναῦν μετα-  
 20 βιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρρύματα παραβαλών. τὴν  
 μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεῦχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν,  
 ἐπεὶ σκότος εἴη, ἔξεβιβάζειν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους  
 εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη  
 δὲ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσθέμενοι σῦτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἥδη μέσου  
 ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλυγώρως εἶχον καὶ  
 ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἔξεπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος,  
 καὶ ἦ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἥ δὲ εἰς  
 21 τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δὲ ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἔκαστοι ἥνοι-  
 γον, τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι  
 ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀρισ-  
 τοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ  
 πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντες  
 κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ ἀναδησάμενοι  
 22 ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἥ δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ  
 ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορ-  
 κίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ  
 δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὥρμισατο εἰς τὸν εὔριπον τὸν τῶν  
 23 Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας  
 αὐτῷ ἔξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων  
 24 δὲ ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἥκουσαν,  
 ἐληφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσ-  
 βιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὅντας ἅπαντας καὶ  
 δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα  
 25 καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέ-  
 βησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα  
 ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κάκείθεν Σαμιας ναῦς ἔλαβον

δέκα ἥθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἡ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἄπαντας, δύοις δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον – ἔξω οὖσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἡ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων 26 τὴν βοήθειαν ἥδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσί καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεύτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνο- 27 ποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις αὐταὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἵδων τὰ πυρὰ, 28 καὶ τινων αὐτῷ ἔξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ως ἔξαπιναίως προσπέσοι· ὅδωρ δὲ ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκάλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι 29 ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὡδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἥγειτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὄνόματι Ἰππεύς· ἔχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἥσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα 30 ναυσί· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Θρασύλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας,

ἐχων τὰς ἵσας ναῦς, Θρασύλῳ δὲ Ἀριστογένης.  
 εἰ οὗτῳ δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδόειν χειρον γάρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τὰν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἡσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξὶὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.

εἰ Ερμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Αθηναίων πολλῷ πλέονες ἡσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρώτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούστης τῆς νεώς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἡφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίου, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν οἱ δὲ Αθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Αθηναίων νῆις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὄλιγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οἰστῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἡ ἔξήκοντα.

εἰ ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Αθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ετεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ

Βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζουντο. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς 36 κέλης πάντα ἔξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἔξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αἰθις πλεῦν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἄπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν 37 αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίου, ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐριον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν τὸ 38 στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οὐ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαιτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἥδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἰκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν Κόνωνος πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἶλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἔξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέοντος καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου

καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου,  
 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθή-  
 ναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδη  
 ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσ-  
 κων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὅντα  
 τοῦ δήμου κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας.  
 καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.  
 3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 περὶ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ  
 χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι,  
 4 ἡ βουλὴ ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐγένετο,  
 ἐν ἣ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ  
 Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγου ὑποσχεῖν,  
 διότι οἰκὲ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε  
 μαρτύριον, ἷν ἐπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιάμενοι ἢ τὸν  
 5 χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως  
 ἔκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προύτεθη σφίσι λόγος  
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι  
 αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ  
 ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρ-  
 χων ἀνδράσιν ἴκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἥδη,  
 Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις.  
 6 καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα  
 ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους, οἷς  
 προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ, ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἥμῶν,  
 ἔφασαν, ψευσθεία φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλῦσαν

τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον ἐ- 7 βούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τὰν ἴδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἔτέραν ἐκκλησίαν· τότε γὰρ ὡψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀν καθεώρων· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβούλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοιντο. μετὰ δὲ 8 ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἴμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν, ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξενον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τὰν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἦν 9 ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πάντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἑκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, δότῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἀν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι 10 καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεύσαι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε 11 δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι ἐπιστέλλειν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολ-

λυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δῆμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς 12 πατρίδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι Εύρυππόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπήνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἀν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι 13 ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἡναγκάσθησαν ἀφίεναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινῶν οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν νέμον, αὐθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν 14 τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ 15 νόμον παντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εύρυππόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε·

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δὲ ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἡ μοι δοκεῖ 16 ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας, βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, 17 οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἴτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν

ἔχουσιν ἔκεινων ἴδιᾳ ἀμάρτοντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἔκεινών τε καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι· οὐκ, ἀν νῦν γέ μοι πειθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια <sup>19</sup> ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τάληθη πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὑστερον εὐρήσετε σφάς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτήκοτας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τέ καὶ ἔμας αὐτούς. Συμβουλεύω δὲ νῦν, ἐν οἷς οὐθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθὲν ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστι γε ἔξαπατηθῆναι νῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἀν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἄμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἔνα ἔκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον ἄλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν δάντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ νῦν αὐτοῖς. Ἰστε δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, <sup>20</sup> πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμά ἔστιν ἵσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. Ικατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νὴ Δία, ἀν νῦν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἔστιν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὄλην πόλιν. Ξτοῦτο δὲ <sup>21</sup> εἰ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὃς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἀν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ <sup>22</sup>

λυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δῆμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς 13 πατριδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυππόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπήγουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μή τις ἔασει τὸν δῆμον πράτ- 13 τειν ὁ ἀν βούληται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἡναγ- 14 κάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψή- φισιν παρὰ τὸν νέμον, αὐθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν 15 τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ 16 νόμον παντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυππόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε·

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ- απολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἡ μοι δοκεῖ 17 ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας, βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτε ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταρά- κοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, 18 οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἴτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν

ἔχουσιν ἔκεινων ἵδιᾳ ἀμάρτοντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἔκεινών τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύοντιν ἀπολέσθαι· οὐκ, ἀν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια <sup>19</sup> ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τάληθή πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὑστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τέ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθὲν ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστι <sup>20</sup> ἔξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἀν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἂμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἔνα ἔκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον ἄλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν δάντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαί, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἔστε δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ φήφισμά ἔστιν ἴσχυρότατον, δὲ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. <sup>21</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ φήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἀν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἔστιν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ <sup>22</sup> βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὃς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάγ τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἀν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὅποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ <sup>23</sup>

αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ τοὶς υἱὸις πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοίνυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῦν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας εὐχὴν ικανούς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἡ θαυμάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῦς ἀνθρώπαις πειθομένους.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γυνώμην κατὰ τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἔκαστον ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾶς ψήφῳ ἄπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονούμενων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψήφισαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὁκτὼ ὄντων ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἔξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοὺς Ἀθηναῖοις, καὶ ἐψήφισαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστῆσαι, ἔως ἣν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προύβληθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ἣ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθὼν, ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἀστυν, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

## B.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται 1  
 δύτει, ἔως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπό τε τῆς ἄρας ἐτρέφοντο  
 καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοί τε  
 ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ  
 συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι οἵς δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μά-  
 θοιεν δόποσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ 2  
 Ἐτεόνικος ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρωτο τῷ πράγ-  
 ματι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων τό τε  
 γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει  
 εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ἵπλα ὄρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι  
 πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἀν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὐ  
 ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν  
 ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελλη-  
 νας διαβολὴν σχοῖνεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι  
 πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ωσιν ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἐαιτοῦ 3  
 ἄνδρας πεντεκαΐδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο  
 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχών τινι ὀφθαλμιῶντι  
 ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἵατρέίου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι,  
 ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων 4  
 τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς παραγγέλλειν  
 ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον  
 τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθείη  
 ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας 5

τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως  
οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσι τι·  
οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν ἄμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν  
εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ’ ἐκάστην  
ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ  
γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς  
εἰδέωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς "Ἐφεσον ἐβούλεύσαντο  
περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς  
Λακεδαιμονια πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύ-  
σανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὐ φερόμενον  
παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρ-  
χίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν.  
καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ  
παρὰ Κύρου ταύτα λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα,  
ναύαρχον δὲ "Αρπακον" οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δὶς  
τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν  
Λυσάνδρῳ, ἐτῶν ἡδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
παρεληλυθότων.

Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν  
Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραίον, υἱεῖς ὅντας τῆς Δα-  
ρειαίου ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατ-  
ρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης  
τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· [ἥ δὲ κόρη  
ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἡ χειρίς, ἐν ἥ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων  
οὐδὲν ἄν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι]. Ιεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ  
ἥ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαίον δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ περι-  
όψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμ-  
πεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.

Α. C. 405. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν 10  
 ἔφορεύοντος, ἥρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις  
 Ἀλεξίου, Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἔφεσον μετε-  
 πέμψατο Ἐπεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ  
 τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ  
 ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυ-  
 πηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κύρου χρήματα ἦτε· ὁ δὲ 11  
 αὐτῷ εἰπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα  
 εἴη καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἔκαστος  
 τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, δύμας δὲ ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ 12  
 Λύσανδρος τάργυριον ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους  
 ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὄφειλόμενον μισθὸν  
 ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

Κύρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, 13  
 ἐπει τῷ πατρὸς ἥκεν ἄγγελος λέγων  
 ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκεῖνον καλοίη, ὃν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς  
 Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν  
 ἀφεστώτας. ἥκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἴα ναυμα- 14  
 χεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους ναῦς  
 ἔχῃ· εἴναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ  
 αὐτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἔνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέ-  
 δειξε δὲ αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν  
 πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἥσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα  
 ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἴδιᾳ,  
 ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοὺς 15  
 τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπ-  
 τος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη

τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κίλπουν. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ διομέα Κεδρείαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἵρει καὶ ἔξηνδραπόδισεν. ησαν δὲ μιξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὄρμάμενοι τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντις προσείλοντο Μέντην, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν πεζῇ· ἥγεντο δὲ τῷ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἵροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιούμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Αὐγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου διέχει δὲ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος ταύτη σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐδειπνοποιούντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπει

ὑρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβαλὼν προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι<sup>23</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὄψὲ ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἴγιδος ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας<sup>24</sup> τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβώσι, κατιδόντας ὅτι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐτοὶ ἥκον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν<sup>25</sup> Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγαλῷ δρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλεις ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὄρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν παρήνει πρός τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὐ δύντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ<sup>26</sup> δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν φέρετο. Λύσανδρος<sup>27</sup> δέ, ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπήν κατιδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι

καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα 28 ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευστε. Λύσανδρος δ' εἰνθὺς ἐσῆμην τὴν ταχίστην πλεῦν συμπαρήσει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεξὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἵδων τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἐσῆμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅντων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἡσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναὶ· ή δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθροία καὶ ή Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τὴν γῆν. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· 29 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῦς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ή δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὰ 30 γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος δὲ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τάλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ή δ' ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἐπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ 31 γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθη-

ναίων, ἃ τε ἡδη παρανευομήκεσαν καὶ ἀ ἐψηφισμένοι ἡσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν· Φιλοκλῆς δὲ ἡν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐδέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, <sup>32</sup> καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἡσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἡτιάθη μέντοι ὑπό τινων προδούνται τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρώτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τι εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς "Ελληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, <sup>2</sup> ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδη τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τούς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ τινά που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέοντιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοσε δὲ οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσφι ἀν πλείους συλλεγώσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θάττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἀρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

3     Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης  
νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο· ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ  
Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν,  
ὅ ἔτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς  
νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας  
πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτὸι ἐαυτούς,  
πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐαὶ ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε  
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὅντας, κρατήσαντες πο-  
λιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαιέας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορω-  
ναίους καὶ Αίγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν  
4     Ἐλλήνων. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν  
ἥ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας ἀποχώσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ  
τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τάλλα  
πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν.  
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἤσαν.

5     Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσ-  
ίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τάς τε  
ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ<sup>6</sup>  
Θράκης χωρία ἔπειμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεό-  
νικον, δις τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέ-  
στητεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἐλλὰς ἀφειστήκει  
Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι  
δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γυνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν  
7     πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπειμψε πρὸς  
Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμονίαν ὅτι  
προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ  
ἐξήσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν  
Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων  
8     βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντεῖς ηθροίσθη-  
σαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέ-

δευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν 9 πόλιν Αἴγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμῖνα ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ 10 κατὰ θάλατταν ἡπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὅντων οὔτε σύντου, ἐνόμιζον 11 δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἢ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν ηδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾳ αἰτίᾳ ἐτέρᾳ ἢ 12 ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν, διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἡδη ὁ σύντος ἐπελε~~ελο~~ίπει, 13 ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα ἐκέλευεν οὐναι: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ 14 πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλεγον, δύτα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις 15 ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν φοντο γὰρ ἀνδραπο-

δισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔως ἀν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσ-  
 15 βεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβου-  
 λεύειν Ἀρχέστρατος γάρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προύκαλοῦντο  
 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη προύκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν  
 μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἐκατέρου  
 ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων συμ-  
 16 βουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων Θηραμένης ἐν ἐκκλη-  
 σίᾳ εἰπεὺ ὄτι εἰ βούλοιται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ  
 Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἡξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξ-  
 ανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι.  
 περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἡ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ  
 διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω,  
 ἐπιτηρῶν ὅπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλε-  
 οιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὄτι τις λέγοις ὅμολογ-  
 17 ἡσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκε τετάρτῳ μηνὶ, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι,  
 είτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαιμονα ἴεναι οὐ γάρ εἶναι  
 κύριος ὃν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα  
 18 αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐφόροις ἐπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὄτι  
 ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρή-  
 19 νης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσ-  
 βεις ἐπεὶ ἡσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι  
 λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἰπον ὄτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης,  
 μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευσον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἡκούι, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἥ ἀντέλεγον Κορίν-

θιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἔξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα ἀν-<sup>20</sup> δραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίσ-  
τοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποι-  
οῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ὃ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεσ-  
θαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἀν ἡγῶν-  
ται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπαν-<sup>21</sup> ἐφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὅχλος περιεχέντο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀπρακτοὶ ἥκοιεν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. ἡ τῇ δὲ ὑστεραιά ἀπήγ-<sup>22</sup> γελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποι-  
οῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πειθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήεσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομί-  
ζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ Διονύσιος <sup>23</sup> δὲ Ἐρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδο-  
νίων, σπάνει δὲ σύτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλι-  
πόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μέν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ  
 μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη-  
 αίρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὅτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὔσ-  
 τινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον  
 συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύαι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 12 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἐπειτα  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἥδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ  
 ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοῖς  
 βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου  
 καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἵ τε  
 ἄλλοι, ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι,  
 13 οὐδὲν ἥχθοντο. Ἡπεὶ δὲ ἡρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως  
 ἀν ἔξειντος τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο,  
 ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα  
 Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπεισαν Λύσανδρον  
 φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἔως δὴ τοὺς  
 πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν  
 14 πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτὸι ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ  
 πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν  
 συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν  
 φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον  
 πάση θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαιροίη ἢ πράττοιεν,  
 τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς  
 ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε  
 καὶ ὀλίγους ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἡδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα  
 μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι  
 ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμ-  
 15 βάνειν. Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ  
 Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν,

ἄτε καὶ φυγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δὲ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἰ τις ἐτιμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἰπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν ὁ δέ, ἔτι γάρ οἰκείως ἔχρητο τῷ Θηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροί τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ικανωτάτους διακωλύειν εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἔσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἥττον τι οἱει ὕσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθυησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἡσαν συνιστάμενοι τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ή πολιτεά, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἴκρινοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὄλυγαρχεῖν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἥδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρείσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀποπον δοκοί ἔαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνούς, ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὕσπερ τὸν ὄφιθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ οὕτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὗτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἴη γενέσθαι. ἐπειτα δὲ, ἔφη, ὅρῳ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ ἔξετασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν

προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότη ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν  
 διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον  
 προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι  
 τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ  
 πολεμίοις μὲν ἀνθρώποις καὶ σπένδονται αὐθίς καὶ  
 πιστοὶ γίγνονται, δὲν δὲ προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι,  
 τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπί-  
 30 στευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καὶνα  
 ταῦτα οὐτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν,  
 ἀναμυγόσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὐτος γάρ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν  
 πατέρα "Αγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ  
 ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥσθετο ἀντίπαλόν  
 τι τῇ ὀλυγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρώτος αὖ ἡγεμῶν  
 31 τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κό-  
 θορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [·καὶ γάρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν  
 μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ'  
 ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δέ, ὡς Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν  
 ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγ-  
 ματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἦν δέ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς  
 μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι,  
 ἔως ἀν εἰς οὐρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἀν  
 ἀφίκοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ,  
 32 εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντλα πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου  
 πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ  
 διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος  
 εἰ ἐξ ὀλυγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλε-  
 στοις δὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων.  
 οὐτος δέ τοι ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ

τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῦν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτους ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδε ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γάρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτείᾳ εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεὶ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείστι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιούσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἀν οἰεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλης ἀπάστης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἀν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

‘Ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ’ ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἡρχούν δήπου κατ’ ἐκείνων λόγουν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ’ ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χει-

δισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔως ἀν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσ-  
 15 βεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβου-  
 λεύειν Ἀρχέστρατος γάρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακε-  
 δαίμονιοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οὓς προύκαλοῦντο  
 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη προύκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν  
 μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἐκατέρου·  
 ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων συμ-  
 16 βουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων Θηραμένης ἐν ἐκκλη-  
 σίᾳ εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ  
 Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἡξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξ-  
 ανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι.  
 περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἡ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ  
 διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω,  
 ἐπιτηρῶν ὅπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελ-  
 οιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὅτι τις λέγοι ὅμολογ-  
 17 ἡσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκε τετάρτῳ μηνὶ, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι,  
 είτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαιμονα ἵέναι οὐ γάρ εἶναι  
 κύριος ὡν ἐρωτῷτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα  
 18 αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐφόροις ἐπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὅντα, ὅτι  
 ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρή-  
 19 νης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσ-  
 βεις ἐπεὶ ἡσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι  
 λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἰπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης,  
 μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευσον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἡκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἥ ἀντέλεγον Κορίν-

θιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀν- 20 δραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίσ- τοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποι- οῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ὧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλουν νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεσ- θαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἀν ἥγων- ται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπαν- 21 ἐφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιώντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἥκοιεν οὐ γάρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγ- 22 γελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποι- οῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πειθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρέν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς 23 τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομί- ζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ Διονύσιος 24 ὁ Ἐρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχῃ μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδο- μίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλι- πόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

3      Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, φὶν 'Ολυμπιάς, ὃ<sup>2</sup>  
 A. C. 404. τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός,  
 Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτη ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δὲ ἐν  
 Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλυγαρχίᾳ  
 ἥρεθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν  
 καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλυγαρχία ὡδε. ἔδοξε  
 τῷ δῆμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατρίους  
 νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ  
 ἥρεθησαν οἵδε, Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος,  
 Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μητσίλοχος, Χρέ-  
 μων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαι-  
 ρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθέ-  
 νης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεο-  
 γένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακον-  
 τίδης, Εύμαθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μητσί-  
 θείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος  
 πρὸς Σάμον, Ἀγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγάγων  
 τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

4      Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν  
 Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς  
 Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους αὐτῷ τῶν Θεττα-  
 λῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ  
 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

5      Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρα-  
 κόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων  
 Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ  
 καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίους συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν  
 εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων.  
 παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἵππεῖς ὑπὸ Διο-  
 νυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Οι δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου 6 πάντη, ἐπεὶ σὺ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἥδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν ἐν ιμάτιον ἔχων ἔκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἔξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παρα- 7 δοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς 8 ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαιμονα, ἀπάγων τά τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἴδια, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἀ περιεγένεντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. 9 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευ- τῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὁ ἔξαμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρώτος, ἐφ' οὐδὲν ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπουδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτον οἵδε, Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατί- 10 δας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὄνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὄνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ' οὐδὲν Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἰκαδε κατέπλευσεν.

11 Οι δὲ τριάκοντα ἥρέθησαν μέν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὅτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὕστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς 12 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆργον θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οὐ τε ἄλλοι, δσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, 13 οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. Ι ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἀν ἔξεινται αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαιμονία Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ ταύτης πονηρούς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν 14 πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχμοῦντο. ο δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οι δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευσον πάση θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἡ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ ὀλύγους ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἡδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμ- 15 βάνειν. τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν,

ἄτε καὶ φυγὰν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἰπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν ὁ δέ, ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἔχρητο τῷ Θηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους διακωλύειν εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἡττόν τι οἱεὶ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθυησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ησαν συνιστάμενοι τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο η πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ικρύνοντας λήψιοι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἡδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυείσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀποπον δοκοίη ἔαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνούς, ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ὄφιθμὸν τούτου ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ οὕτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὕτ' ἐντὸς τούτων ποιηροὺς οἷον τε εἴη γενέσθαι· ἐπείτα δὲ, ἔφη, ὅρῳ ἐγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ ἔξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν

μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαχοῦ, ἐπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἐν φέρεντοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρεῖλοντο καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέ-  
 21 θηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξὸν ἥδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν  
 22 ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευνον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἴων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενούμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων  
 23 ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δὲ ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλοιντο ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἴδιᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἔδοκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι,  
 24 συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἐλεξεν ὡδε-

“Ω ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μέν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐνυοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνε-

ταῖς πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλυγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διά τε τὸ πολυ- ανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ήμεν δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἴοις ήμῶν 25 τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους τοῖς περισσόσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕποτ' ἀν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἀν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν κα- θίσταμεν. καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ 26 ὀλυγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ὑμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηρα- 27 μένην τουτονὶ οἵς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε οὕτε φέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτού τὰ παρόντα οὕτε ἐναντιούμενον; ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἔξι ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἀν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ 28 αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἔξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγο- μένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ήμεις φανερῶς ἔχθροι τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γυγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ήμεις δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἔχθρῳ αὐτῷ 29

προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότη ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπάτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἀνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὐθις καὶ πιστοὶ γίγνονται, δὲν δὲ προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπί-  
 30 στευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καὶνα ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμυγήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γάρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα "Ἄγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσθετο ἀντίπαλον τι τῇ ὀλυγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρώτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν  
 31 τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κό-  
 θορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [·καὶ γάρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δέ, ὡς Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγ-  
 ματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἦν δέ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεύσθαι, ἔως ἀν εἰς οὐρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἀν ἀφίκοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ δὲ πειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ,  
 32 εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντία πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλυγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλεί-  
 στοις δὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοι ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ἵπὸ

τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισσωθείη. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἔστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτου ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γάρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτείᾳ εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰ δὲ ἐκεὶ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείστι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἀν οἰεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσει τῶν ἐναντίᾳ γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῶν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἀν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

‘Ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἴπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἥρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χει-

μῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας  
 δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῷ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι  
 δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφείνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ  
 οἵν τε εἶναι σώσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς  
 36 ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες φάνοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυ-  
 μάξω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανεομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ  
 ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὸν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ  
 μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς  
 37 πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὃν μὲν οὖν  
 οὗτος ἐκεὶ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε  
 μέντοι ὁμολογῷ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύοντας  
 ὑμῖν ἵσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης  
 αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα  
 πράττων ἔστιν οἴομαι ἀν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν,  
 τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἀ νῦν πράττει ἔκαστος ήμῶν  
 38 εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε  
 καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆ-  
 ναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι  
 πάντες ταῦτα ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἡρ-  
 ξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κάγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν,  
 ἐκ τούτου κάγὼ ἡρξάμην τάναντία τούτοις γιγνώ-  
 39 σκειν. ἥδειν γάρ ὅτι, ἀποθυήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος  
 τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ δύτος καὶ δοκοῦντος  
 ἵκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δὲ οὐδὲ ἔν, οἱ ὄμοιοι τούτῳ  
 φοβήσοιντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἑναντίοι τῷδε τῷ πολι-  
 τείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου  
 Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν  
 πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς  
 πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὄμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ήμῖν γενή-

σοιυτο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀυτιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν <sup>40</sup> ἀπολλυμένου, δις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὐ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῶν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεὖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εῦδηλον γὰρ ἡν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἀντεὖπον δὲ καὶ <sup>41</sup> ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περιστῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὀφελεῖν· ἔξην γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοιντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαιτας. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροῦς μισθοῦσθαι <sup>42</sup> συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἔξδυν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἔως ῥαδίως οἱ ἀρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεί γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μόι οὕτε Θρασύβουλον οὕτε Ἀνυτον οὕτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἴσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἵκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν <sup>43</sup> ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενῆς ἀν δικαίως ἡ πρόδοτης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἔχθρούς, ὡς Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὕτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἴσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ

αδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν  
ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολ-  
λοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ  
μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχρο-  
<sup>44</sup> κέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ  
λέγω, ὡδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἰεσθε Θρασύ-  
βουλον καὶ "Ανυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἂν  
ἔγω λέγω μᾶλλον ἀν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι  
ἢ ὁ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἔγω μὲν γάρ οἴμαι τῦν μὲν  
αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ  
δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ήμὲν εἶχε,  
χαλεπὸν ἀν ἥγεσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι-  
<sup>45</sup> τῆς χώρας. ἂν δ' αὐτὸν εἴπειν ως ἔγω εἴμι οἶος ἀεί  
ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν  
μὲν γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς  
δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ως οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάση πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἀν ἡ δημο-  
<sup>46</sup> κρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν  
ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον  
καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο  
ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο  
τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς  
έταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθό-  
μενος ἔγω διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι  
<sup>47</sup> τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κάθορνόν με, ως ἀμφο-  
τέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις  
ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὡ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ  
καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γάρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ  
πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστο-  
<sup>48</sup> κρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἔγω

δ', ὡς Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἀν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δὲ ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἀν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδε γ' αὐτὸν ἐναντίος εἴμι οὐδὲ οἴονται καλὴν ἀν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλυγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὡφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. εἰ δὲ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὡς Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἡ τυραννικοῦς τοὺς καλούς τε κάγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἡ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἡ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, δύολογῶ τὰ· πάντων ἐσχατάτα παθῶν ἀν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

‘Ως δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ η βουλὴ δύλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς δὲ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενοι, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἔξηλθε, καὶ ἐπιστήναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρδία ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσέλθων εἰπεῖν· Ἐγώ, ὡς βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἶου δεῖ, ὃς ἀν ὄρῳ τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἴδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν λυμαῖνόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων

μηδένα ἀποθυήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν  
 δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους είναι τοὺς τριάκοντα  
 θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἔξ-  
 αλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἀπασιν ἡμῖν.  
 52 καὶ τούτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. ἀκοίσας ταῦτα  
 ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν,  
 'Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ω ἄνδρες, ἵκετεύω τὰ πάνταν ἐννομώ-  
 τατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ είναι ἔξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε  
 ὑμῶν ὃν ἀν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅντερ νόμον οὔτοι  
 ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον  
 53 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν είναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέν,  
 ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει  
 ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι,  
 ὅτι οὔτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι,  
 ἔφη, ω ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοι, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοη-  
 θήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γυγνώσκοντες ὅτι  
 οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐέξαλειπτότερον ἡ τὸ ὑμῶν  
 54 ἔκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριά-  
 κοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην ἐκεώνοι  
 δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένουν αὐτῶν  
 Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε  
 μὲν ὁ Κριτίας, Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην  
 τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἔνδεκα οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ  
 55 τούτων πράττετε. ως δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται.  
 ο δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γυγνόμενα. η δὲ βουλὴ  
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὄρωσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις

όμοίους Σατύρω καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα <sup>56</sup> διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οὐλα ἔπασχε: λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥήμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἰπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο, "Αν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθυήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εὐπεῖν αὐτόν. Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν οἱ δὲ τριά- <sup>4</sup> κοντα, ὡς ἔξδν ἥδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἥγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὄρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν <sup>2</sup> ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἵσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐθοίθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος σύν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὕστης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινες τῶν νέων προσεβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα <sup>3</sup> ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀπο-

κλείσαντες τὰς ἐφύδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νικτὸς χιῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες.  
 4 γιγνάσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαλδέκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἵππεων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδεύσαμενοι  
 5 ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νικτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἡ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἰχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντὸ ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἔκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχουτες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἐξ ἡ ἐπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὄπλιτῶν πλέον ἡ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἵππεων Νικόστρατον τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς  
 7 εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στήσαμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος ἵππεὺς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δέ, ἔως τοὺς μεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο  
 8 οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ

πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἔξιδιώσασθαι, ὡστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοὺς ἵππεῦσιν ἡλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἔξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἰεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευνον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δ' ἀπογραψάμενον· ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἔξεναν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἴγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἵππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἔξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευνον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὄπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν, Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἡττον ὑμῶν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσίνιων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἥμιν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβήσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ 10 Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἥμισει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἔξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἥδη συνειλεγμένους ἀφικνέται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἥσθουντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὄπλίταις.

ἔπειτα ἔχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιῶν ἀμαξιτὸν  
 11 ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὃν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὕτω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἷ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ιερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἷ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὗτοι δὲ συντεταγμένοι  
 12 ἔχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἷ εἰς δέκα ὄπλιτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἡσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν φῷ δὲ προσήσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων,  
 13 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν "Ανδρες πολῦται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιάξατε, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἔξηλαννον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὐ οὗτοι μὲν οὕποτε φοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ δὲι εὐχόμεθα.  
 14 ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα ἐναντίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ

οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδ-  
ευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ  
ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ  
ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν δύτων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις  
οὖσι τρόπαια ἴστασθαι διδόασι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομί- 15  
κασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίου, ἐν φῶ οὐτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν  
οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ  
πρὸς ὅρθιων ἵέναι δύναντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτ-  
αντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφίεντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους  
ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.  
καὶ φέτο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῦς γε πρωτοστάταις 16  
ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἀν ὑμεῖς, ὅσπερ  
προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται  
μὲν οὐδεὶς ὡν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ  
δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσις ὕστε ἐξέσται  
ὅσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἀν βουλώμεθα  
καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', ω ἄνδρες, οὕτω 17  
χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἔκαστός τις ἔαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς  
νίκης αἰτιώτατος ἄν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἀν θεδς θέλη,  
νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν  
καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἵς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ω  
μακάριοι δῆτα, οἱ ἀν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν  
πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδάίμων δὲ καὶ ἄν τις  
ἀποθάνῃ· μηνμείου γάρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὡν·  
καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγώ, ἡνίκ' ἀν  
καιρὸς ἥ, παιάνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνναλίον παρακαλ-  
έσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσ-  
θημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς ταὺς 18  
ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγ-

γελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἡ πέσοι τις ἡ τρωθείη· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μέν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὡς γέ 19 μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τυὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις 20 πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωνος ὡν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἀνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἔξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναί βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἴερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχορεύται καὶ συμφοιτηται γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιώται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύειμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. 21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρών καὶ μητρώων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν

πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οὓς ἴδιων κερδέων ἔνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν ἡ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἔξὸν δ' 22 ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὐτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὐ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν οὐν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

‘Ο μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν’ οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα 23 πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γάρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρείη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ. ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι.· καὶ εἴλοντο δέκα, ἔνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς. 24

A. C. 403. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἵππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἔξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ

οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ, τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὅρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

25 οἱ δὲ πολλοί τε ἡδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰστίνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἰεν, ἵστοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἔξήεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὅπλιται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππεῖς ώσεὶ ἐβδομήκοντα προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὄπώραν ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν

26 Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δέ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἔξήει, οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἔχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰ-ξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτή-δεια πορευομένοις καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵπ-παρχος ἀπέσφαξε πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν

27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἵππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἵππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἡδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ἀστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἔκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγέν-

ετο, πολλὰ εὶς ἔκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεύχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εὶς Λακεδαίμονα 28 τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἔξ Ἐλευσῖνος, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἔξ ἀστερος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ώς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύ-σανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἰόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπο-λιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείη-σαν, συνέπραξεν ἐκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανει-σθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ 29 ἔξελθων αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσῖνάδε συνέλεγεν ὄπλιτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούν-των Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἄμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἄμα δὲ ἴδιας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἔξάγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ- 30 μαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῦν ἀν στρατειώμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυ-σανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

ὡς ἤνοιγε] "as he was making the open sea." Cp. 5. 13; 6. 21. Note the less regular form ἤνοιγε, used exclusively in nautical terms. Contrast *Anab.* v. 5. 20 ἐπει δὲ οὐκ ἀνέψυγος τὰς πύλας.

§ 3. Μάδυτος] The beach between Sestus and Madytus had been the connecting point of the bridge of Xerxes with Abydus (Hdt. vii. 33).

§ 4. Μίνδαρος] Mindarus had superseded Astyochus as high-admiral (*ναύαρχος*) of the Lacedæmonian fleet (Thuc. viii. 85. 1).

P. 8. ἀναλάβοι] "rescue."

§ 5. ἥντα] a poetical word, used also by Herodotus and the tragedians. Cp. θλίβατοι (*Anab.* i. 4. 4), ἔπεισεν (i. 9. 6), ἐπέπατο (i. 9. 19), ἐσίνοντο (iii. 4. 16), ἀναχάζειν (iv. 1. 16), θαμνά (iv. 1. 16), μόλωσιν (vii. 1. 33).

μέχρι δελητὸς ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ] The word δελητὸς (δελητὸς πρωῒ and δψια, cp. Thuc. iii. 74. 2 περὶ δελητὸν δψιαν) was used both for the early afternoon, and the late afternoon or evening. Cp. *Hell.* iv. 1. 22 ἀμα δελητὸν καλλιερησόμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρένται πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, where we see that the δελητὸς there mentioned came on before the δειπνόν which usually took place about sunset. For the expression ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ, cp. Arist. *Them.* 2.

ἔπειστλεῖ] "sails up into the straits," from Samos, whither (Thuc. viii. 108. 2) he had returned at the beginning of September (*πρὸς τὸ μετόπιτον*) after having exacted large contributions from Halicarnassus, fortified Cos, and planted in it an Athenian officer.

§ 6. ἐπεισβαλλων .. ἐμάχετο] Pharnabazus reminds Agesilaus and the Lacedæmonians of this: *Hell.* iv. 1. 32 ἐν δὲ τῷ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεῖλακος τοὺς πολεμίους.

§ 7. συμφράξαντες τὰς ναῦς καὶ παραταξάμενοι] "having closed up their ships and ranged them in line." Τὰς ναῦς seems to apply to παραταξάμενοι as well as συμφράξαντες. Cp. Thuc. i. 52. 2 παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους (τὰς ναῦς). Thuc. i. 29. 3, we find ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι, where we must understand τὰς ναῦς or ἀντρούς.

§ 8. φχοντο] Xenophon (cp. 1. 18; 3. 8; ii. 1. 26) appears not to observe the idiomatic usage of this verb according to which, as in ἤκω, the present is used in a perfect, and the imperfect in a pluperfect sense. Homer uses the imperfect

of οἴχομαι in its proper sense: *Il. v. 495, 6 πάλλων δ' δέξα δούρα κατὰ στρατὸν φέρετο* (was going) πάντη, Ὁρμών μαχέσασθαι, ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνήν. Thucydides uses it as an Aorist: *i. 90. 4 Θεμιστοκλῆς ταῦτα διδάξας φέρετο*. Jelf, § 396. 1. *Obs. 1, 2.*

**Θρασύλος]** This is the reading of all the Manuscripts, not Θράσυλλος. Thuc. v. 59. 5, the reading varies between Θράσυλλος and Θράσυλος.

§ 9. ἥλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον] from Ephesus, where he had offered sacrifice to Diana (Thuc. viii. 109).

ξένια τε καὶ δῶρα] Ξένια include chiefly meat and drink: *Æsch. Ag. 1590—3 ξένια...παρέσχε δάτα παιδειῶν κρεῶν. Hell. vii. 2. 3 δῶλως τε ἐτίμων αὐτοῖς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπειμψαν.* It seems especially used of presents sent by peaceful inhabitants to an army: *Anab. iv. 8. 23 καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ δλφίτα καὶ οἶνον.* Schneider remarks with justice that ξένια are usually presented by not to the host.

φόσκων κ.τ.λ.] The real fact was that Tissaphernes wished to reconcile himself, if possible, to the Peloponnesians, διαβεβλῆσθαι νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα (Thuc. viii. 109).

βασιλέα] When applied to the Persian king, the article was omitted with βασιλεύς, as if it were a proper name. Cp. Hdt. vii. 174 βασιλέος τε (Χέρκης) μελλοντος διαβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Εύρωπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης. Arist. Ach. 61 οἱ τρέσθεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως. Contrast τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, 2. 19. ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, Hell. iii. 4. 25.

§ 10. Ἀλκιβιάδης...μετὰ Μαντιθέου...ἀπέδρασαν] Cp. Thuc. iii. 109. 2 Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατηγῶν σπένδονται. Jelf, § 393. 2. *Obs. 3.*

P. 9. § 11. Κύζικον] The Athenians had attacked and recovered Cyzicus which had revolted: Thuc. viii. 107 ἀφικόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν προσηγάγοντο πάλιν, καὶ χρήματα ἀνέπραξαν. It was a colony from Miletus.

τεριπλεῖν ἐκεῖσε] sc. to sail round the Mastusian promontory from Cardia to Sestus.

§ 18. διώκειν αὐτὸν] "to follow him (i. e. Alcibiades)." Cp. Hipparch. iv. 5 ὡς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες. It seems hardly probable that αὐτὸν refers to Mindarus (§ 11).

ἔξελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἴστια] sc. that the ships might be free and unencumbered for a sea-fight. Cp. Hell. vi. 2. 27 ἀμα δὲ πάντα δσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο (δ Ἰφικράτης).

εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἵστια αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ταυμαχίας πλέων. Similarly Lysander had left τὰ μεγάλα ἵστια at Cape Abarnis (π. 1. 29) before the battle of Aegospotami, which Conon took away, so as to lessen the enemy's powers of pursuit. Probably the two sails belonging to the mainmast were called ἵστια μεγάλα, those of the foremast ἵστια ἀκάτεια or ἀκάτια. Cp. Thuc. viii. 28. 1 ἔβαλοντο (οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι) πλεύσαι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη ἢ ἔξειλοντο ἐς Τειχιούσσαν πόλιν (i. e. the sails, &c. which had been left on shore in expectation of going into action).

περὶ ἀριστοῦ ὥρας] "Suidas places the ἀριστον as περὶ ὥραν τριτην. This at the equinoxes would be about nine o'clock. But we have various reasons for distrusting this account. The ἀριστον must be fixed nearer noon. It would appear to have been the midday meal, answering to the Roman 'prandium.' Cp. Xen. *Econ.* xi. 14—18." Becker, *Char.* pp. 312, 3. Cp. note, 6. 21.

§ 14. τῇ ὑστεραὶ] Herodotus (viii. 22) gives us the full expression: τὰ Ἰωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραὶ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισιον ἐπελέξαντο. So τῇ προτεραὶ (ἡμέρᾳ) "on the day before," Lat. "pridie."

αὐτοῖς] his men.

§ 15. ὠρμίσαντο] Ὁρμεῖν, "be at anchor;" ὀρμίζειν, "bring a ship to anchor (as a pilot);" ὠρμίζεσθαι, "bring oneself to anchor."

τὰ μικρὰ] "small craft."

§ 16. ὕστος πολλῷ] sc. τοῦ Διός. Cp. note, 6. 28. For πολλῷ (sc. ὑετῷ) cp. Hdt. i. 193 ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν δλίγῳ.

γυμναζομένας] "exercising, practising manœuvres."

ἀπειλημένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] "cut off by himself from the port." There is another reading ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ λιμένος).

P. 10. § 18. ταῖς εἰκοσι τῶν νεῶν] "The use of the Article with adjectives of number is one of the remarkable peculiarities of the Greek language." Arnold. The article is used here with a part of the whole number, where no *definite* mention has been made of the other part. Cp. Thuc. i. 116. 1; viii. 89. 3. Cp. also *infr.* 6. 26 ταῖς δὲ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναγένεται. Jelf, § 455. 1.

τῶν Συρακοσίων] "those of the Syracusans." We learn from Thuc. viii. 26 that twenty Syracusan ships sailed from Sicily to assist the Peloponnesians against Athens at the instigation of Hermocrates.

§ 21. Πέρινθος καὶ Σηλινθίας] Herodotus (vi. 33) includes these in his list of towns on the Chersonese: Χερσόνησός τε ἐν τῇ πόλεις συνχαλ ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος, καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρητίκης, καὶ Σηλινθίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Perinthus was colonized from Samos, and afterwards called Heraclea.

§ 22. Χρυσόπολις] the modern Scutari. Strabo (xii. 4) calls it κώμη (an unwalled country-town).

τὴρ δεκάτην] Cp. Polyb. iv. 44. 4 ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι ποτε κατασχόντες (Χρυσόπολιν), ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμη παραγωγάδειν (demand a transit duty from) ἐπεβάλοντο πρώτον τοὺς εἰς Πόντον πλέοντας.

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] Cp. note, p. 3. 13.

§ 23. ἐπιστολέως] "vice-admiral." This officer was second in command in the Spartan fleet, and succeeded to the command if anything happened to the high-admiral (*ναύαρχος*). Cp. p. 1. 7.

P. 11. γράμματα] This despatch would be written in the hard Doric dialect, which was spoken in Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and Magna Graecia. The soft was spoken in Sicily, Messene, Argolis, Megara, and the islands near Asia Minor; and was used by Theocritus, Epicharmus, and Sophron. The principal characteristics of the dialect are breadth and openness, and dislike of sibilant forms: cp. Theocr. *Id.* 15. 88 ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατειδοῖσαι ἀπαντά.

έλλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας] Cp. Plat. *Rep.* v. 468 Α τὸν δὲ ξῶρτα εἰς τοὺς πολεμούς ἀλόντα. Cp. note, p. 3. 54. *Anab.* i. 2. 2 παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. The idea of previous motion is implied. Jelf, § 646. 1. For the plural verb, cp. note p. 3. 8.

ἔρρει...δρῆν] Compare, for the true Laconic brevity of the despatch, Thuc. iv. 17. 2: ἐπιχώριον ὅν ἡμῖν οὐ μὲν βραχές (λόγοι) ἀρκώσι μητ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι. Herodotus (iii. 46) gives us a very amusing anecdote illustrating Spartan taciturnity.

τὰ καλά] "our prosperity." This seems to suit ἔρρει, as an abstract idea, better than τὰ κάλα, "timbers" i.e. "ships," for which cp. Arist. *Lysistr.* 1253. So Sophocles (*Ed. Tyr.* 910) ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα. Xen. *Symp.* 1. 15 ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα (cp. Lat. *actum est*). Τὰ καλά is the Manuscript reading. It may be as well to remark here that Hickie in his otherwise thorough and painstaking edition of Book i. gives ἔρρει as the imp. of ρέω, to flow.

ἀπέσσυνα] sc. ἀπεσσύθη.

πεινῶντι] contracted from πεινάοντι; Attic πεινάοντος, πεινῶσι. Cp. for the termination, Lat. *amant*. So in the treaty between Lacedaemon and Argos (Thuc. v. 77) we find εἰκωντι, ἔχοντι, ἔντι.

ἀπορίους] The old termination *-μες* here is parallel to the Latin *-mus*. Cp. the Megarian's διαπεινάμες, Ικομες, Arist. *Ach.* 750, 1.

§ 24. ἔνεκα ξύλων] "as far as timber was concerned." Cp. II. 1. 14. Brasidas (Thuc. IV. 11. 4) uses the same word contemptuously: ἐβόλα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμόους ἐν τῷ χώρᾳ περιεδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους. Compare the speech of Mardonius, Hdt. VIII. 100: οὐ γάρ ξύλων ἀγών ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ήμūν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.

τῷ βασιλέως] sc. χώρᾳ. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 84. 5 ἐν τῷ βασιλέως. We have the full expression τῷ βασιλέως χώραν, 2. 17.

§ 25. Ἀντάρδρῳ] Cp. Thuc. IV. 52. 3 καὶ τάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἀνταρδρού, καὶ κρατυράμενοι αὐτὴν (ναῦς τε γάρ εὐτορία ἡν τοιεῖσθαι αὐτόθι, ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδης ἐπικειμένης)... Virg. Ἀη. III. 5, 6 *classemque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Ideæ*. Cp. also II. 1. 10.

§ 26. ναυπηγουμένων] sc. τῶν Πελοποννησίων.

εὐεργεσίᾳ] Xerxes in correspondence with Pausanias (Thuc. I. 129. 2) says κεῖται σοι εὐεργεσία (title of εὐεργέτης) ἐν τῷ νημετέρῳ οἴκῳ εἰσαει ἀνδράραπτος. Themistocles writes to Artaxerxes (*id. I. 137. 7*) καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία δοθεῖσθαι. Cp. Hdt. VIII. 85. Xenophon shows (*de Vect.* III. 11) that the name and rights of an εὐεργέτης were eagerly sought by leading men in other states, when conferred by the people of Athens: οἵμαι δὲ ξύντη, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσθαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χώρον, καὶ ξένους ἀν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ὃς ἀν καὶ τόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὄρεγομένας. The privileges of these *public benefactors* included public maintenance in the Prytaneum: Dem. F. L. 446 δοιητ' ἀν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησον ἡ δλλην τινὰ δωρεάν, αἰς τιμάτε τοὺς εὐεργέτας; Socrates, towards the close of his defence (Plat. *Apol.* 36 D, E), claims this privilege at the hands of the Athenians: τι οὖν πρέπει ἀνδρὶ πένητι εὐεργέτῃ;... δὲ μὲν γάρ (ό 'Ολυμπιάδοι νευκηκών) ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδάίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἔγω δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἔγω δὲ δέομαι. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι, τούτου τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως.

Καλχηδόνα] a Megarian colony.

§ 27. Ἐρμοκράτους] son of Hermon, whom we are first acquainted with (Thuc. IV. 58—64) as urging the Siceliots to peace with each other in the face of the impending Athenian invasion. He is described by Thucydides (VI. 72. 2) as ἀνήρ καὶ ἐτάλλα ξύνεσσι οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν πάλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ τε Ικανὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρὶς ἐπιφανῆς.

προηγοροῦντος] "acting as spokesman." Cp. II. 2. 22; *Anab.* V. 5 προηγορεῖ δὲ Ἐκατώνυμος θειώδης νομιζόμενος λέγειν.

ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ δεὶ παραγγελλόμενα] “brave in following out each successive order.” Archidamus insists upon this point: Thuc. II. 11. 10 καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα δξέως δεχόμενοι. Cp. *id.* I. 121. 2.

μεμνημένους...ὑπάρχουσαν] As to the position of this clause, Schneider’s observation appears to me satisfactory: “*non inferior*, *Hell.* v. 2. 20, διδόναι λόγον τινί significare *decidendi protestatem alicui facere: sed ea notio locum non habet, ubi accusandi mentio præcedit.*” Διδόναι λόγον (§ 28) = “give an account,” “answer for,” “rationem reddere.” For the transition from indirect to direct narration, cp. *Hell.* IV. 1. 13 τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθιριδάτης τάν τοιεν ἀν ηδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκοῖ. *Anab.* I. 3. 14 πέμψας δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὡν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρτακότες. *Infr.* II. 1. 25.

**P. 12.** ἀντ’ ἑκείνων] sc. ἀνθ’ ἑαυτῶν. Cp. 6. 14 οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος...εἰς τὸ ἑκείνου δυνατόν. *Memor.* I. 2. 3 ἐπολει τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἑαυτῷ μιμουμένους ἑκείνον τοιούδε γενήσεσθαι. *Dem. de Cor.* 276 (148) ἡ τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ιερομημόνων ἡ τῶν ἑκείνου συμμάχων.

§ 28. στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν] Cp. *Anab.* VI. 1. 29 δοτισ...στασιάζει πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν.

§ 29. δεομένων] “at the request of the crews.” Cp. *ἀποβαινόντων*, 3. 22. *Jelf*, § 695. 3. *Obs. 1.*

ἀπεκέμψαντο] “dimiserunt.”

§ 30. ἐπέθησαν] “felt the loss of,” “missed,” “desideraverunt.”

κοινότητα] “affability.” Cp. *Cyn.* XIII. 9 οἱ μὲν γάρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίοις καὶ νέοις θηρώνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πᾶσι κοινῷ καὶ φίλοι. “*Communis*,” in Latin, very nearly approaches the same sense. Pausanias incurred odium because δυσπρόσθοδον αὐτὸν παρεῖχε (Thuc. I. 130. 2).

ἀνεξινοῦτο] sc. ἀνεκουνοῦτο, ξυνός differing from κοινός only in dialect. Cp. *Hell.* VI. 3. 8 ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακουνούμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις.

ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα] “off-hand,” “on the spur of the moment,” “impromptu.” Cp. the use of *ἀντοσχεδιάζειν*.

§ 31. δοκῶν] “having the reputation of.”

κατηγορήσας Τισσαφέρους] Cp. *Thuc.* VIII. 85.

τὰ ὄντα] “the truth.” Cp. *Symp.* IV. 45 νομίζοντες τὰ ὄντα

Τ 38 χίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναμιτο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ὃτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπείναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἔνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἀστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς 39 Ἐλευσῆνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν 40 ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἐλεξεν, 'Τμῦν, ἔφη, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γυνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.<sup>γ</sup> μάλιστα δ' ἀν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρουρητέον ἔστιν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἔστε; ἀλλ' δ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὡν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκηκεν ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ 41 ὑμῖν μέγα φρουρητέον. καὶ τίς ἀν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἡ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γυνώμῃ φαίητ' ἀν προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἔχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρουρητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἶγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιώ δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω

κάκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ηδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὡς 42 ἀνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὡν ὀμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὔορκοι καὶ ὅσιοι ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησά- 43 μενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους ἡ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

διεσπαρμένους δυτας] The double participle is worthy of notice: cp. II. 1. 28; *Symp.* VIII. 2 Κρετόβονλος ἐρώμενος ἦν.

§ 3. ἐκτὸς] "except." *Infr.* 6. 34. Cp. the use of the Latin *extra*: Cic. *ad Fam.* VII. 3. 2 *extra ducem paucosque prætereū reliqui in bello rapaces.* Liv. VIII. 32 *extra ea cave vocem mittas.* We find ἔξω used with a similar meaning: *Hdt.* VII. 29 οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμεξα ἐς τόδε...ἔξω σεῦ.

§ 4. Νότιον] Notium was occupied by the Colophonians on the loss of Colophon: *Thuc.* III. 34. 1 ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὐ κατώκηντο Κολοφωνίοι τῆς ἀνω πόλεως ἐλακυλας ὑπὸ Ἰαμένους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσων ἰδια ἐπαχθέντων. *Herodotus* (I. 149) reckons it among the Aeolian towns. *Livy* (XXXVII. 26) says "ipae copias ad Notium ducit: id oppidum Colophonium mari imminens abest a vetere Colophone duo ferme milia passuum."

P. 15. ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου] in the month of June. Cp. Arnold on *Thuc.* II. 19. 1 τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος.

λεῖαν] esp. of cattle: cp. *Thuc.* II. 94. 4 ἀνθρώπους καὶ λεῖαν λαβόντες. VIII. 3. 1 τῆς λεῖας τὴν πολλὴν ἀπολαβόν. *Soph.* *Aj.* 25 ἀφθαρμένας γὰρ ἀρτίως εὐρίσκουμεν λεῖας ἀπάσας καὶ κατηραμισμένας Ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ποιμάνων ἐπιστάταις: 53 σύμμικτά τε λεῖας ἀδαστα βουκόλων φρουρήματα: 145 βοτὰ καὶ λεῖαν. Cp. *infr.* 3. 2.

πολλήν] "in great abundance." *Jelf*, § 714. 1. c.

§ 5. Στάγης] ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους (*Thuc.* VIII. 16. 3).

§ 6. συνέλεγε καὶ ἀπέστελλε] "proceeded to collect and despatch."

τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι] *Thucydides* (III. 104. 6) compares the Ephesian festival with the ancient Delian meeting: ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισιν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἰωνες, καὶ ἀγῶναν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι, καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χόρους τε ἀνθηγον αἱ πόλεις.

§ 9. πρὸς τοὺς ὄπλιτας ἐβοήθησαν] "came to aid *against* the hoplites;" *supr.* § 3, πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς = "to the aid of their light-armed." So βοηθεῖν ἐπι, followed by the name of a person, is "to carry aid against him"; followed by the name of a place, "to carry aid to it." Arnold, *Thuc.* VIII. 11.

P. 16. § 10. ἔδωκαν...ἔδοσαν] Xenophon not unfrequently delights to vary his style of writing: cp. *Anab.* I. 7. 3 ἀμεινονας καὶ κρείττους. v. 7. 7 Βορέας...δι Βορρᾶς. *Hell.* IV. 8. 15 στερηθεῖεν...ἀναγκασθεῖσαν.

ἀπωλώλει] Cp. I. 37.

§ 12. *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι]* “crews and all.” The notion here is that of an accompaniment or accessory. In Homer and the Attic poets we find *σὺν* also used with this expression; sometimes also the article is added. Cp. 5. 19. Jelf, § 604. 1.

§ 13. *Λάδυψακον]* a colony from Miletus and Phocaea.

§ 14. *ἐν λιθογραφίαις]* This was in retaliation for the confinement of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse at the close of the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. vii. 86, 87).

οἱ δὲ εἰς Μέγαρα] “and some few to Megara.” The second clause is not in the speaker’s mind when he conceives the first. For a similar ellipse, cp. Plat. *Apol.* 18 οἱ δοῦλοι δὲ (οἱ μὲν) φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειδον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πειθούσεις. Dem. *F. L.* 397, 8 καὶ οὗτοι διὰ ταῦτ’ ἀπολώλασι παρ’ ὑμῖν οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ’ φθῆκασι (where Shilleto says that the ellipse is more common in Plato than in other writers). Jelf, § 767. 1, 2.

§ 15. οὐκ ἡβούλωστο...συντάπτεσθαι] Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 29 οὐτω δὲ ἐπήρθησαν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου στρατευσάμενοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν, ὥστ’ ἀπαξιούντι τοῖς ἄλλοις καταμιγνύναι στρατιώτας ἐαυτοὺς πολλάκις ἡττημένοις ἀπτήτους δυτας.

P. 17. § 16. *ἀφελέτεο]* either “precluded farther pursuit,” or “concealed Pharnabazus.”

§ 17. *ἐκ]* “immediately after (following upon).” Lat. “ab.”

*ἡπειρον]* the Asiatic continent: cp. *Hell.* iii. 1. 5 ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. Hdt. iii. 134 ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπειρου (Asia) ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπειρον (Europe).

§ 18. *τὸ Κορυφάσιον]* Cp. Thuc. iv. 3. 2 ἀπέχει γάρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἡ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὖση γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 64) that Pylus was retaken by the Lacedæmonians after a severe assault (Anytus having failed to relieve it with his fleet). Demosthenes had fortified it B.C. 425.

*Ἡρακλεία τῇ Τραχινίᾳ]* Heraclea was founded by the Lacedæmonians B.C. 426. On that occasion none had been excluded from participating in the colony except Achaeans and Ionians and some others (Thuc. iii. 92. 7). Its failure was owing in a great measure to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonian governors (*id. iii. 93. 4*). Thucydides mentions the hostility of the Ætolians against the Trachinians; iii. 92. 2 τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχινίοι πολέμω ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οἰταίων ὁμόρων δυτων: also against

the Dorians; III. 92. 3 ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταλῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ (οἱ Δωριῆς) ἐφθείροντο. We find Agis punishing the Cetæans for their ancient feud, Thuc. VIII. 3. 1. On this occasion he also exacted money and hostages from them.

πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους] "about (almost up to) seven hundred." Cp. *Anab.* IV. 5. 2 καὶ διέβανοι αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν διμφαλόν. πρὸς defines the number more loosely than εἰς. Cp. the expressions πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ημέραν, &c.

c. III. § 2. Καλχηδόνα] "The true name of this city, as given universally on its coins, is Καλχηδόνα. But the Attic writers, or at least the existing MSS. of them, have adopted the form Χαλκηδὼν, and the Romans followed them in writing "Chalchedon," and not "Calchedon." Arnold on Thuc. IV. 75. 3.

λεῖαν] moveable property which could be pillaged.

κατέθεντο] "deposited (in a place of safety)." Plutarch (*Alc.* 29) gives us εἰς Βιθυνὸν ἔκτιθενται ("export").

Βιθυνὸς Θράκας] This people originally came from the banks of the Strymon in Thrace: Hdt. VII. 75 οὗτοι δὲ διαβάστε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνόν· τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνοι, οικέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆραι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ηὗτων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν.

§ 3. παραπλεῖν] "oram legere."

P. 18. § 4. πεποιημένος] "having effected for himself."

ἀπὸ θαλαττῆς εἰς θάλατταν] sc. from the Bosphorus to the Propontis.

§ 8. φέρετο] Cp. note, 1. 8.

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ] Thrasyllus and Theramenes.

ἀναγαγεῖν] "conduct up (from the coast into the interior)."

§ 9. τὰ διφειλόμενα χρήματα] "arrears."

πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις] "I agree with the remark made by Schneider in his note upon the passage Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις. He notices the tenor of the covenant as it stands in Plutarch—τὴν Φαρναβάζου δὲ χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν" (*Alc.* 31), which is certainly far more suitable to the circumstances. Instead of Καλχηδονίοις he proposes to read Φαρναβάζῳ. At any rate, this is the meaning." Grote, VII. p. 374. For the dative, cp. Jelf, § 601. 1.

παρὰ] "returning from." Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 61 οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως: 184 προσίτω Θέωρος δὲ παρὰ Σιτάλκους.

P. 19. § 10. *περὶ Σηλυβρίαν* “in the neighbourhood of Selybria.” Cp. 1. 5 *περὶ Αβυδον*. Jelf, § 632. 3. 1. b.

*πανδημεῖ*] “en masse.”

§ 15. *περιοίκων*] The *Periæci* were the outlying population of the Laconian towns, of Achæan origin and subject to their Dorian conquerors. They enjoyed civil but not political liberty. The rights which were granted to them at the conquest were forfeited on an attempt to regain their independence: henceforward they were made tributary to Sparta; they lost the right of intermarriage with the Dorians, had no voice in the public assembly, and could not be elected to important offices. On the rising of the Helots, B.C. 464, some of the *Periæci* joined them (Thuc. I. 101). *Hell.* vi. 5. 25, we find them inviting the Thebans to invade Laconia. In connexion with Cinadon's conspiracy (*Hell.* III. 3. 6) they appear most bitter against the Spartans: *ὅπου γάρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἀν καὶ ὡμῶν ἔσθιειν αὐτῶν.* T. Quint. Flaminius placed several of their provincial communities under the protection of the Achæan league, and Augustus-Cæsar restored them to the full possession of their civic rights.

*νεοδαμώδων*] This was the name by which those Helots were known who had been freed by the state in reward for service in war: Thuc. VII. 58. 3 *δίναραι δὲ τὸ Νεοδαμώδες ἐλεύθερον ηδη εἴναι*. We find this liberty given to the Helots who fought under Brasidas, B.C. 421 (Thuc. V. 34). In respect of their civil rights they ranked above the *Periæci*.

“Ελιξος” Cp. Thuc. VIII. 80. 3.

P. 20. § 17. *ἐπιβάτης*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 61. 2 *Λέοντά τε ἀνδρας Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς Ἀντισθένει ἐπιβάτης ξυνεξῆλθε*, where the Scholiast says *οὐ τριήραχος, οὐδὲ ἀλλην ἀρχὴν ἔχων*. Krüger there supposes it to be the title of an inferior officer in the Spartan naval service, like *ἐπιστολεὺς* (supr. I. 23). “Perhaps,” says Arnold, “it only signifies one who was on board, without having anything to do with the management of the ship; as if it had been the custom for one or two Spartans, without any distinct command, like Demosthenes before the occupation of Pylus (IV. 2. 4 *Δημοσθένει δοτὶ ιδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανιας, αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἰπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἵνα βούληται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον*), to accompany the Spartan admiral; in order that they might be ready to take the command on any separate service where a Spartan might be needed.”

§ 18. *οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν*] “who were ready to betray the city.”

§ 19. *σφει*] Xenophon frequently uses the common form of the optative: cp. *ποιήσαι*, § 21; *τολμήσαι*, 4. 12; *κινδυνεύσαι*, 4. 17; *παρείησαι*, 4. 18.

*εἰσέσθαι*] Cobet here proposes *εἰσφέσθαι*, comparing *Hell.* vi. 5. 43 *εἰλοτο μαχέμενοι ἀποβατεῖν μᾶλλον ή γάντες ἐπεισφέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τὴν Ἑλλάδαν*.

§ 20. *δέ* “well then, I say,” “however.” Lat. “*ergo*.” Cp. 6. 4. Jelf, § 767. 4.

*τὸ Θράκιον*] Cp. *Anab.* vii. 1. 24 *τὸ δὲ χωρὸν οἷον καλλιστοτε ἐκτέξασθαι ἔστι, τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οικιῶν καὶ πεδιῶν*.

P. 21. § 22. *ἀποβατόντων*] genitive absolute, where *τῶν* *ἄλλων* or something similar must be supplied: cp. note, 1. 29. For the construction, cp. Thuc. viii. 24. 3 *ἐν τε Καρδαμήλῃ ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐν Βολισσῷ*.

c. iv. § 2. *οἱ ἄλλοι ἀγγελοι*] “the other ambassadors.” Cp. *Hell.* iii. 2. 18 *προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Anab.* vii. 6. 12 *Σεύθου τοιούτου πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος*.

*πάντων ὡν δέονται*] sc. *πάντα ὡν δέονται*, *πάντων* being attracted into the genitive case by *ῶν*. Jelf, § 824. 1. 1. Dindorf would read *πάνθ' ὡν*.

*καὶ Κύρος*] sc. *ἀπήντησεν*.

§ 3. *πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ*] “the whole sea-board.” Cp. *Anab.* i. 9. 7 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φοργύλας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Κασπαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπέδειχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι...* “His command did not at that time comprise the Greek cities on the coast, which were still left to Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.” Grote, vii. p. 377.

*τὸ βασιλείου σφράγισμα*] The Scholiast on Thuc. i. 129 gives us the following information: *ἡ σφραγίς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως εἶχε κατὰ μὲν τινας τὴν βασιλέως εἰκόνα, κατὰ δὲ τινας τὴν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τινας τὸν Δαρέον ἵππον, δι' ὃν χρεμείσαντα ἐβασίλευεν* (Hdt. iii. 85, 86, 87). Cp. *Hell.* vii. 1. 39 *ὁ Πέρσης δὲ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα ἀνέγνυτο γεγραμμένα*.

*καὶ τάδε*] “these words amongst other information.”

*κάρανον*] “chief (head-man),” akin to *κάρα*, *κοίρανος*.

§ 4. *μὲν μάλιστα...εἰ δὲ μή*] “if possible...failing that.” *Hell.* v. 3. 7, we find an equivalent expression *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν*, with which compare Thuc. iv. 104. 4 *ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν*

οὗτος τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὸν τι ἐνδοῦνται, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν Ἡίδρα προκαταλαβών.

§ 5. μή...πω] "not...at present."

§ 6. φάσκων] "alleging." This word usually conveys a collateral notion of pretence, as *supr.* 1. 9 φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναῖς. II. 4. 8. Cp. however 6. 7; 7. 11; *Mem.* I. 2. 29 φάσκων ἀνελεύθερον τε εἶναι. Grote (vii. p. 441) contends for the simple sense of "affirming," *infr.* 7. 11; and refers to Plat. *Apol.* 21 B, where Apollo at Delphi styles Socrates in riddles the wisest man: τι οὖν ποτε λέγει (δὲ θεὸς) φάσκων ἐμὲ σοφώτατον εἶναι; The meaning there appears to be intentionally ambiguous.

ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται] sc. δὲ Κῦρος.

§ 7. ἐνιαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἡσαν] "three years had passed." Cp. Thuc. III. 29. 2 ἡμέραι δὲ μαλιστα ἡσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ ἐπτὰ δέτε ἐς τὸ Ἑμβατον κατέπλευσαν. Herodotus uses γίγνεσθαι, II. 2: ὡς γὰρ δέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι. Cp. *infr.* II. 1. 27; 4. 25.

P. 22. § 11. τοῦ οἰκαδε κατάπλου...ξεῖ] "(to see) how the state was affected towards him with regard to his return home." Jelf, § 528.

§ 12. ἡμέρα ἡ Πλυντήρια ἡγεν ἡ πόλις] on the 25th of the month Thargelion (about the end of May). The day of this festival (πλύνειν, to wash) was reckoned among the ἀποφράδες or *dies nefasti*, on which no assembly or court was held; while the statue of the goddess Athena was stripped of its ornaments, in order that they might be cleansed by the Πραξιεργίδαι, and covered up from human sight, her temple being surrounded by a rope.

ἀνεπιτήδειον] "unfavourable." Cp. Hdt. IX. 37 Μαρδονίψ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ Ιρά.

σπουδαῖον ἔργον] "serious undertaking."

§ 13. δοτεος] the upper town: cp. Dem. c. *Lept.* 460 τῶν μὲν τοὺς δανεισαμένους ἀποδοῦνται κελεύντων, τοὺς ἐξ δοτεος (i.e. the Thirty and their followers who supported the Oligarchy as opposed to the popular party in the Piraeus). Cp. II. 4. 1.

P. 23. τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην] It is certainly tempting to render "the great Alcibiades." The article generally omitted with proper names is sometimes added for the sake of emphasis. So Arist. *Ach.* 10 προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον, "expecting to hear the famous *Aeschylus*." Jelf, § 450. 1.

ἀπελογήθη] “*Indicatus ἀπελογήθη bene habet, quippe in re facta.*” Wolf.

μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων] “and more pernicious in their harangues,” “who spoke with less principle.”

ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ] “with the power of the state.”

§ 14. ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι] Cp. Thuc. viii. 29. 1 ὁ δ' (Ἀλκιβιάδης) ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μηρύματα ἀπελογεῖτο (was ready to defend himself), καὶ ἐτοίμος ἦν πρὸς ἐκπλεῦν κρίνεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια] Cp. Thuc. vi. 28. 1 μηρύματα οὖν...καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἂμα ὡς ποιέται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὑβρει. Plut. Alc. 19 ταῦτα γάρ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ γέγραπται Θεοσαλοῦ τοῦ Κιάμνου εἰσαγγελάντος Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τῷ Θεῷ (Demeter and Persephone).

§ 15. δουλεύων] used in the same sense, Thuc. viii. 84. 5: ἔφη τε χρήναι Τισσαφέρνει καὶ δουλεύειν Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλέως τὰ μέτρα καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν.

θεραπεύειν] “pay court to.”

τοὺς ἔχθιστους] sc. the Peloponnesians and Tissaphernes. Cp. Thuc. viii. 45.

§ 16. τῶν οἰωνηρῶν αὐτὸς δυτῶν] “such men as he.” When the subject of the abbreviated adjectival sentence and the article are of different number, the subject is in the nominative, without being affected by the attraction: cp. Arist. Ach. 601 *νεανίας δ' οἵους σὺ διαδεδρακάτας.* Jelf, § 823. Obs. 6. Contrast II. 3. 25 οἵοις ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν.

καινῶν πραγμάτων] “innovations.”

ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ] “he had to start with” “Τηράρχειν keeps its proper meaning, ‘to be at hand to begin with,’ just as εἰναι is simply ‘to be,’ and γίγνεσθαι, the opposite to ὑπάρχειν, signifies ‘to come into being,’ as opposed to that which was in being beforehand.” Arnold on Thuc. vi. 87. 4.

ἐκ τοῦ δήμου] “at the hands of the people.”

δυνασθεῖσιν] “when they had become powerful.” Cp. note, II. 2. 24.

ἀγαπᾶσθαι] “be tolerated.”

§ 17. τῶν παροιχομένων κακῶν] Alcibiades had incited the Lacedæmonians to aid Syracuse (Thuc. vi. 88), had urged the necessity of fortifying Decelea (*id. vi. 91*), had effected the revolt of Chios (*id. viii. 14*) and Miletus (*id. viii. 17*), and had originated the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

τῆγεμῶν] "auctor."

§ 18. ὄρμισθεις] Cp. note, 1. 15. Soph. *Phil.* 546 τύχη δέ πως πρὸς ταῦταν ὄρμισθεις πέδουν. In Thucydides we usually find ὄρμισάμενος.

P. 24. καταστρώματος] Pliny ascribes the invention of decks to the Thasians. At the time of the Persian war, the Athenian ships were without a complete deck: Thuc. 1. 14. 4 καὶ αὐται οὕτω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα. Ships which had a complete deck were called κατάφρακτοι (Thuc. 1. 10. 6).

§ 19. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν] "not to put up with it." This seems to be rather a favourite phrase with Thucydides, who uses it 1. 71. 1; 1. 82. 1; 1. 95. 1; vi. 40. 2. Cp. Dem. *F. L.* 426 εῦ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

§ 20. ἀναρρηθεῖς ἀπόντων τῆγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ] Cp. Corn. *Nep. Alc.* 7 quum ei omnes essent honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur.

τὰ μυστήρια] the great Eleusinian mysteries which were celebrated in the month of Boedromion, and on the sixth day of which the statue of Iacchus was carried along the sacred road from the Ceramicus to Eleusis. Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 34 ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἰακχον. *Hdt.* viii. 65. Arist. *Ran.* 316, sqq.

ἐποίησεν] "Intellige ἀγεσθαι" Schneider: sc. "caused them to be conducted." Ἐποίησεν might also be used here to avoid repetition of the verb of the first clause (ἀγέντων). Below we have (*Hell.* iv. 5. 2) ταῦτα τὴν θυσίαν, τοιεῦν Τσθμα ("sacra facere"), which might raise a question whether we should not understand it here also in the sense of "celebrate" (sc. τὰ μυστήρια).

§ 21. Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος] Diodorus and Cornelius Nepos both state Thrasybulus and Adimantus as the colleagues of Alcibiades. Aristocrates, son of Scellias, took part with Theramenes in the outbreak for the suppression of the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 89. 2), and subsequently separated from the extreme oligarchical party (*id.* viii. 92. 2). Aristophanes (*An.* 125) plays upon his name: ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι δῆλος εἰ γητῶν. ἔγω; Ἡκιστα. καὶ τὸν Σκελλίου βδελύττομαι.

§ 22. Γαύρειον] Cp. *Livy*, xxxi. 45 in portu quem *Gaureleon* vocant.

§ 23. ὄρμώμενος] "making it his base of operations." Cp. Thuc. iii. 81. 1 τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινὰ ἡ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, διποτεῖς ἐκ πόλεως ὄρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν. Cp. also *infr.* ii. 1. 16.

c. v. § 1. *τούτων*] i.e. the series of events included in c. 4. §§ 8—23.

P. 25. § 3. *πάντα ποιήσειν*] “would use all endeavours (‘leave no stone unturned’).” Lat. “*omnia experiri*,” “*nihil intentatum relinquere*.” Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 39 Α δέ τις ἀποφέζεται πάντα ποιῶν θάνατον. We find it in construction with ὅτις, ὡς, ὡντε. *Infr.* 7. 15, it seems merely equivalent to “would do everything,” and the sense *may* be the same in this passage, sc. “would execute all his father’s commands.”

*κατακόψειν*] “would coin into money.” Cp. Hdt. III. 96 ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, *κατακόψτει* (ό Δαρεῖος) τοσοῦτο δους ἀνέκαστοτε δέηται. Compare the promise of Tissaphernes to the Athenians, Thuc. VIII. 81. 3: *μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτὸν τροφῆς, οὐδὲ* ἦν δέγ γε τελευτῶντα τὴν ἐντοῦ στρωμνὴν ἔξαργυρίσατ.

§ 4. *ἐκέλευον*] “urged.” Whether the imperfect is used in this sense (“urge,” “request”) and the aorist in that of “ordering,” “bidding” seems questionable. The best Manuscripts read in Thuc. I. 138. 1 ἔθαύμασε τε καὶ ἐκέλευε, where Artaxerxes could hardly be said to make a request to Themistocles. The imperfect use Arist. *Ach.* 960, 962 is however well satisfied in denoting the *request* of Lamachus to Dicæopolis; and we find the aorist *ἐκέλευσε* (II. 8. 54) of the positive order for the seizure of Theramenes. Cp. *Anab.* I. 6. 3; VII. 1. 38; II. 8. 20; IV. 2. 16.

*τῷ ναύτῃ*] “a sailor.” Cp. *Anab.* I. 8. 21 *τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ*.

*δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν*] The Athenian sailors received an Attic drachma or six obols *per diem* (the Eginetan drachma being equal to ten Attic obols) in the Sicilian expedition: Thuc. VI. 81. 3 *τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναύτῃ ἐκάστῳ διδόντος*. At the siege of Potidaea the Athenian hoplites, their servants, and the ships’ crews received equal pay, viz., a drachma a day (Thuc. III. 17. 4). Tissaphernes also paid the Peloponnesian fleet at the same rate, but wished to reduce their wages to three obols a day (the usual rate of pay): Thuc. VIII. 29. 1 *καὶ μηνὸς μὲν τροφὴν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονί, ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκάστῳ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐβούλετο τριώβιοιο διδόναι*. The half-drachma was also the pay of the dicasts or jurymen for a day’s sitting in court.

*διδάσκοντες*] “affirming.” Cp. *Hell.* III. 5. 4 *διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἥρξαν τοῦ πολέμου*.

*μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει*] sc. δ *Κῦρος*.

§ 5. *τρέψειν*] “maintain.” Cp. Thuc. VIII. 44. 1 *καὶ ἀμα*

ἡγούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ξυμμαχίας δυνατοὶ ἔσεσθαι,  
Τισσαφένην μὴ αἰτοῦντες χρήματα, τρέφειν τὰς ναῦς.

§ 6. *προπίων*] “having drunk his health.” Sometimes we find *προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν, φιλοτησίας* (i.e. *κύλικας*), “drink one’s health in a loving cup.”

ἐπειν δτι] “Οτι must be represented in English by inverted commas. Cp. Hdt. I. 207 *εἶτον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι δτι ἐπει με* Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, *τὸ δν δρῶ σφάλμα ἐδν οἰκώ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν.* Blakesley there says that δτι sometimes is used to introduce the very words which have been employed on any occasion alluded to; in which case it is not taken into account in the construction. It is not correct to regard the word δτι as simply pleonastic.

§ 7. *προσοφειλόμενον*] The Manuscripts here give *προσοφειλόμενον*, “owing in addition (to what had been paid, cp. note, II. 4. 22) i.e. in arrear,” which we find also in Thuc. VIII. 45. 2, τὸν *προσοφειλόμενον μισθὸν*, and in Hdt. VI. 59, τὸν *προσοφειλόμενον φέρον.* Cp. Thuc. VII. 48. 5 καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ (τάλαντα) *προσοφειλεῖν.* Later editions read *προφειλόμενον*, comparing Thuc. I. 32. 1. So in Thuc. VI. 31. 5, the Manuscript reading is *προσετελέκει*, for which cp. Anab. VII. 6. 30 *ει δὲ δὴ δ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνι πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλεῖας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα;* Many editions there read *προετελέκει*, comparing Anab. VII. 7. 25 τι *προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες.*

προέδωκεν] “paid in advance.” Cp. Hell. V. 1. 24 *μηρὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.*

P. 26. § 8. *ἀθύμως εἰχον*] “were in a desponding state of mind.” Cp. 5. 16; 6. 20. Xenophon gives us also *ἀκολάστως, ἐπιφθύνως, εἰνοίκως, φιλοτίκως ἔχειν.* We find the simple dative or *πρὸς c. accus.* after these expressions.

§ 9. *πεισθεῖς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 46.

§ 10. *ἀναψύχων* lit. “airing,” i.e. by hauling them up high and dry, and exposing them to the wind. Cp. Thuc. VII. 12. 3, 4 *τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν...τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἡκμαζε...τῶν νεῶν τῇ ἔηρότητι· νῦν δὲ αἱ τε νῆσοι διαβροχοί (soaked and rotten), τοσούτον χρόνον ἡδη θαλασσεύονται...τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν διελκύσαντας διαψύξαι.* Cp. also Hdt. VII. 59 ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγαλὸν κατασχόντες, *τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες.*

§ 11. *ἔξω Ἐλλησπόντου*] Schneider reads *ἔξι* for *ἔξω*, referring to 4. 9. “*ἔξω* however seems to be used with the genitive in much the same way as *ἔξι*, especially in Homer and the Attic

poets. Cp. 6. 20 ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος. Herodotus even gives us ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον (v. 109), and ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πλέων (vii. 58), where only one Manuscript has τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου.

τειχίζειν] "was fortifying," probably to make it his base of operations.

[*Ἀντίοχον*] Plutarch tells us (*Alc.* 10) how Antiochus first won the favour of Alcibiades by catching a tame quail which had escaped from his bosom. He gives him this character c. 35: ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόγτος δὲ τάλλα καὶ φορτικός (coarse).

§ 13. τότε δὴ] "then, and not till then," "tum demum."

ώς ἔκαστος ἤροιξεν] "as each cleared the harbour, and made the open sea." Cp. 1. 2; 6. 21.

§ 14. διεσωρμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ] "with their ships dispersed." Jelf, § 459. 1. δ.

P. 27. § 15. εἰ τις] Cp. note π. 8. 17.

[*Δελφίνιον*] Delphinium in the island of Chios had been fortified by the Athenians B.C. 412: χωρίον ἐλλως τε ἐκ γῆς καρτερὸν καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς τῶν Χίων πόλεως οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον (Thuc. viii. 38. 2).

[*Ηίδρα*] Diodorus says Teos; and Grote (vii. p. 396) would follow him in reading Τέων.

§ 16. ἐν οἰκῷ] Cp. 7. 1.

ἀκράτειαν] "intemperance." Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 36 παραδιδοὺς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τούτων καὶ ναυτικῆς σκερμολογίας (gossip) δυναμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον, δῆκας αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἀδελας χρηματίζηται περιπλέων καὶ ἀκολασταῖη μεθυσκόμενος καὶ συνὼν ἐταίραις Ἀβυδηραῖς καὶ Ἰωνίσιν.

§ 17. πονηρῶς φερόμενος] "male audiens": cp. εὖ φερόμενος, "in good estimation," II. 1. 6. Εὖ φερόμενος (Thuc. v. 16. 1), καλῶς φερόμενος (II. 60. 8) as opposed to κακοτυχῶν, appear to have the meaning of "being successful," with which we may compare Hell. III. 4. 25 γροῦς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ.

τὰ έαυτοῦ τείχη] Cp. II. 1. 25. Corn. Nep. *Alc.* 7 se *Pactyen* contulit, ibique tria castella communiit, Bornos, Bisanthen, Neontichos; manuque collecta primus Graciæ privatus in Thraciam introiit, gloriiosius existimans, barbarorum præda locupletari, quam Graiorum. *Anab.* VII. 3. 19 (where Seuthes to Xenophon) καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρᾳ ἵστως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνει,

ώστερ καὶ ἀλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων θλαβον. Cp. also Corn. Nep. *Milt.* 2 *tota regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communiuit.*

§ 19. *αὐτοῖς ἀνδρόσι]* Cp. note, 2. 12.

*Δωριέα...ἀφέσαν]* Pausanias (vi. 7. 1, 2) tells us that this Dorieus, son of Diagoras, had gained the first prize at three Olympic festivals in succession, eight victories at the Isthmian games, and seven at the Nemean; and that when the Athenians saw before them a man of such stature and renown in the garb of a prisoner, they set aside their anger, and at once released him.

*αὐτοῖς* sc. the Thurians.

P. 28, c. vi. § 1. *οἱ παλαιὸι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώι]* probably the temple of Athena Polias, the Parthenon having been already built (438 B.C.) on the site of the old Hecatomedon. The remarks however on *τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσιν ἑτάν* (p. viii, Introduction) may apply to the whole section.

*τοῦ χρόνου* "period of office." Cp. note, § 4.

§ 2. *ἐκέλευσεν]* as his superior officer. Cp. note, 5. 4.

§ 3. *οὐ φαμένου πολυπραγμονεύν]* "declining to be officious."

§ 4. *καταμαθὼν ... καταστασιᾶμενος]* "finding that he was being intrigued against." Cp. *Anab.* v. 8. 14 *κατέμαθον ἀναστάς μόλις.* So with Lat. "sentire." Jelf, § 683.

*διαθροούντων]* "noising abroad." Cp. *Thuc.* vi. 46. 4 *ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας διεθρόσαν ως χρήματα πολλὰ ἴδαιεν.*

*ἐν τῷ διαλλάστειν τοὺς ναυάρχους]* The office of *ναύαρχος* lasted for one year at this period. Earlier in the war Cnemus and Alcidas both held it for two years. Aristotle (*Polit.* ii. 9. 33) speaks of the *ναυαρχία* thus: *τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμῳ καὶ ἔπειροι τινες ἐπιτετμήκασιν, δρθώς ἐπιτιμῶντες στάσεως γάρ γίνεται αἴτιος. Εἴπλι γάρ τοις βασιλεῦσιν οὐσαὶ στρατηγοῖς ἀδίοις (ἀδίοις) η ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἐτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν.* Cp. Arnold on *Thuc.* ii. 80. 2.

P. 29. *τι παθεῖν]* "meet with some disaster."

*ἐκ τούτου δέ]* Cp. note, 3. 20.

§ 5. *τὸ κατ' ἐμέ]* "as far as I am concerned." Sometimes we find *εἶναι* with these expressions, as *Anab.* i. 6. 9 *τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι.* Cp. *Hell.* iii. 5. 9 *τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι.* *Thuc.* iv. 28. 1 *τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι.* Jelf, § 679. 2.

πρὸς ἀ ἔγώ τε...αλιδίκεια] "having regard both to the objects of my ambition, and to the charges laid against our country."

τὰ καθεστῶτα] "state of affairs."

§ 7. φοιτήσεσι] Cp. note, 1. 35.

P. 30. § 10. τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα] "the supplies which were here ready." Cp. note, 4. 16. 'Τπάρχει is stronger than εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι.

ἔμαυτὸν πεῖσαι] "bring myself."

§ 11. ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ φἱ] usually more briefly expressed by ἐν φἱ. Cp. *Symp.* IV. 1 ἔγὼ γάρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ φἱ ἀν ὑμῶν ἀκούων ἀπορούντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοτέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ.

ἔκεῖνα] "the supplies from home."

ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'Αλλὰ is often used thus in quick transition from previous narration to exhortation. Cp. *Hom. Il.* I. 274 ἀλλὰ πιθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπει τεῖσθαις ἀμενον. *Eur. I. A.* 903 ἀλλ' ἀμυνον, ὁ θεᾶς ταῦ. *Jelf*, § 774. For σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, cp. *Livy*, *xxi*. 43 *agite cum dis bene juvantibus arma capite*.

θαυμάζειν] "paying court to," "worshipping." Cp. *Hdt.* III. 82 ἐκ δὲ αἰτῶν θωμαδίζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου θωμαζόμενος δὲ, ἀν' ὧν ἐφάνη μοναρχος ἐών. *Eur. Med.* 1144 δέσποινα δ' ἦν νῦν ἀντὶ σοῦ θαυμάζομεν. *Hor. Od.* IV. 14. 42, 3 *te profugus Scythes Miratur*.

§ 12. πόρον χρημάτων] "a grant of money," lit., "a way or means of getting money (ep. our 'ways and means')." The πορισταὶ at Athens were a board of commissioners who levied the extraordinary supplies. Cp. *Hell.* V. 1. 2 ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον (*ad cogendas pecunias*).

πεντεδραχμαῖν] equivalent to ten days' pay at the usual rate.

§ 13. οὐ βουλομένων...έμφροντων δυτῶν] Cp. *Hell.* III. 1. 15 al δὲ ἀλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἔδεχοντο αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ. Φαρναβάζῳ ἔσωξον αὐτῶν οἱ ἔνοτες φρουροί. *Cobet* reads έμφροντούντων, comparing *Thuc.* IV. 110. 3 τοὺς Ἀθηναλούς τοὺς έμφροντας: *VIII.* 60. 1 'Αθηναλων έμφροντωντων.

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντων] "those at the head of affairs." Cp. *Thuc.* III. 72. 2 τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα: III. 28. 1 γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. *Demosthenes* uses οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δύτες.

κατὰ κράτος] "by storm," as II. 1. 15. The expression is used as equivalent to ἀνὰ κράτος, "totis viribus," II. 1. 28: cp.

Thuc. VIII. 100. 5 παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος μηχανᾶς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἦν δύνωνται, αιρήσωντες τὴν Ἐρεσον.

P. 31. § 14. ἀνδραποδισθῆναι] We might expect the Future tense, but the Aorist properly expresses the indefinite notion of time: cp. Hell. v. 1. 32 οἱ δὲ Ἀγηστλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὄρκους (where δέξασθαι and not δέξεσθαι is the reading of all the best Manuscripts): Thuc. I. 26. 5 προεῖπον...χρήσασθαι. v. 22. 1 οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι. Infr. 7. 29 Θρασύλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι. We find the present, Anab. I. 3. 1 οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἔνναι τοῦ πρόσω: IV. 5. 15 καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. There does not seem any sufficient reason to suspect that *ἀν* has been omitted in transcription in these places, or to substitute the future for the aorist (where practicable).

§ 15. τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα] "the slaves who had been bondsmen," i.e. those who had not merely become slaves by being captured in war. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 28. 4 τό τε πόλισμα Τισσαφέρει παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἔλενθερα. Δοῦλος is the general term, applying equally to political and to domestic slavery; *ἀνδράποδον* applies exclusively to domestic. Cp. Arnold on Thuc. v. 9. 6.

μοιχῶντα] "dallying with."

§ 16. τῶν δέκα...Ἐρασινίδης] Cp. Thuc. VI. 6. 2 Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν. Anab. I. 8. 1 Παταγύνας τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρου πιστῶν. Jelf, § 584. b.

P. 32. § 19. κολην ναῦν] "the hold." Cp. Hdt. VIII. 119 τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβίσαι ἐς κολην νῆα. Theocr. XX (XXI). 12 ἐς κολην ἐρριψαν.

παραρρύματα] "curtains of hide (or hair)." Cp. Aesch. Suppl. 715 στολμοῦ τε λαίφους καὶ παραρρύσεις νεώς. These were probably to afford shelter from the enemies' darts: whether they are the same as the παραβλήματα mentioned II. 1. 22, we have no means of determining.

§ 20. ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος] Cp. note, 5. 11.

§ 21. ὡς ἔκαστοι ἡροίγον] "as each began to clear the harbour, and make the open sea." Cp. note, 1. 2; 5. 13.

ἀριστοτοκούμενοι] Cp. § 20 ἔπειδη ἥδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν. This agrees with what has been said (note, 1. 18) as to the hour of the ἀριστον.

ἀναδησμένοι] "having taken in tow (by lashing it to the stern)."

§ 22. *τὸν εὔριτον*] the strait or narrow sea which opened into an interior bay towards the town.

§ 24. *τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἡλικίᾳ θυταῖς*] “those of military age.” Cp. Thuc. vi. 24. 3 *τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις...τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡλικίᾳ.* Thucydides also uses the word as a collective noun: iii. 67. 2 *τὴν υπὸ τούτων ἡλικίας ημῶν διεφθαρτήντην.* VIII. 1. 2 *στερβόμενοι...καὶ ἡλικίας ολαὶ οὐχ ἔτέραν ἔώρων ὑπάρχουσαν.* Cp. Hell. vi. 5. 12 *τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατευσμῷ ἡλικίᾳ.* “The Grecian armies consisted chiefly of free denizens, whom the laws of their country obliged, at a certain age, to appear in arms at the summons of the magistrates. In some places they were admitted into the army at an earlier age than in others. The Athenians at eighteen years of age were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it; and hence they were called *περιπολοι*; but they were not sent to foreign wars till the age of twenty, and the Spartans seldom till that of thirty. In both cities the young and the aged were left to defend their habitations. At threescore, it was usual, in most places, to allow them to retire. At Athens, no man who was above forty years of age was obliged to serve in war, except in times of great danger.” Mitford.

*δούλους*] Manumission was promised to these slaves as a reward for service.

P. 33. § 25. *ἴξω οὐσαι*] “scattered abroad.” Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 262 (107) *οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ξέω* (at sea) *καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῷ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ* (in harbour) *ἀπελείφθη οὐ διναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι.*

§ 26. *ταῖς δὲ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν*] Cp. note, 1. 18.

*ἔδειπνοποιέτο*] “took his evening meal.” The *δεῖπνον* usually took place about sunset.

*ἐπὶ τῷ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ*] Thucydides speaks of a promontory of Malea as lying on the north side of Mitylene: iii. 4. 5 *οἱ ὥρμοις ἐν τῷ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως.* There was another promontory of the same name in the Peloponnesus at the south of Laconia.

§ 27. *Ἀργιωόσαις*] These islands were so called from their bright appearance, owing to the chalky nature of the soil. *Ἀργιωόσαι* is contracted from *ἀργιωόσσαι* (sc. *νῆσοι*). Cp. *Pityussa, Epitissa (insulæ).* Hom. *Il.* II. 647 *ἀργιωέετα Λύκαστον*: 656 *ἀργιωέεντα Κάμειρον*: 739 *πόλιν τ' Ὀλοσσόνα λευκήν.*

§ 28. *ῦδωρ*] “rain.” Cp. Hell. iv. 5. 4 *διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ῦδωρ καὶ χάλαξιν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν.* Hor. *Od.* III. 17. 12, 13 *aqua nisi fallit augur Annosa cornix.* Liv. *xxiv.* 9 *aqua magna bis eo*

*anno fuerunt.* We find the fuller expression, Thuc. II. 77. 6 *ῦδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ*. *Anab.* IV. 2. 2 καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. *Hor. Od.* III. 10. 19, 20 *aqua Cœlestis patiens latus*.

[ἀνέσχεν] "held up." The quasi-impersonal use of this word, compared with *Theogn.* 26. 7 οὐδὲ γάρ δὲ Ζεὺς Οὐρανός ὑπερπέσσος ἀνδρεῖς οὐτ' ἀνέχων, seems to make a good addition to Shilleto's note on *χυνεσκότραχε*, Thuc. I. 51. 2, which I roughly transcribe (lest we should be tempted to supply *τὸν ὕδωρ* or *δὲ χειμῶν* as a subject to *ἀνέσχεν*): "it might be pedantic to give too faithful a rendering, but it seems to deserve a remark that all this family of words *ὑει*, *νίφει*, *χυννέφει*, *ἀπαθριδέει* κ.τ.λ. never is impersonal. The God of the atmosphere *Zeus* is acknowledged." Cp. *Arist. Av.* 1501; *Pac.* 1141; *Ach.* 510. So *Hell.* IV. 7. 4 *ἔστεισεν* δὲ *θεός* (*Ποσειδῶν*). We find the subject expressed, *Hom. Il.* XII. 25 *νέε δὲ ἄρα Ζεὺς Συνεχέει*. *Hdt.* III. 117 *τὸν μὲν γάρ χειμῶνα νέει σφι δὲ θεός*. *Jelf*, § 373. 2.

§ 29. ἐπὶ μᾶς] "in single line." Cp. note, II. 4. 11.

[ταξιάρχων] By taxarchs appear to be comprehended all officers under the *στρατηγοί*, i.e. commanders of the subordinate divisions of the army. Cp. Demosthenes at Pylus (Thuc. IV. 4. 1) ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγούς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὑπέρων καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλολας.

§ 30. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν] Cp. Thuc. V. 67. 2 παρὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔνυμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἡσαν, where all the best Manuscripts read αὐτοὺς. *Anab.* I. 8. 5 τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἴππεος μὲν Παφλαγώνες εἰς χαλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔσποραν. The accusative is correct, where the idea of juxtaposition is intended. Cp. *Anab.* III. 4. 9 παρὰ ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμίς λιθινη.

P. 34. § 31. Ινα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖσεν] "that they might not give (the Lacedæmonians) any opportunity of performing the dieplus." Contrast the altered state of things with Thuc. II. 89, where Phormion τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ (Gulf of Corinth) ἐκών εἶναι (if I can help it) ποιήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν ... διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὼν οὐδὲ ἀναστροφαί, ἀπέρ νεῶν ἀμεινον πλεονσῶν ἔργα ἔστιν. Cp. also *id.* VII. 36. 4 (where the Syrians introduce improvements in the construction of their ships to suit the peculiar tactics of the Athenians) τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν, φέρ της τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστενον. "The dieplus was a breaking through the enemy's line, in order by a rapid turn of the vessel to strike the enemy's ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it." Arnold on Thuc. I. 49. 3.

§ 32. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.] Cp. *Cic. de off.* I. 24

*inventi autem multi sunt qui non modo pecuniam sed etiam vitam profundere pro patria parati essent, idem gloria jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante, ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum qui classem ab Arginusis removendam nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit Lacedaemonios classe illa amissa aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.*

*οἰκεῖται]* The sense seems to require a future as *οἰκεῖται*, which some Manuscripts give. But, as Breitenbach says, *οἰκεῖται* (*οἰκίζειν*) *nusquam significat* "incoletur," *sive* "se habebit." Schneider proposes *οἰκήσεται*, for which compare Thuc. VIII. 67 γνώμην εἰσεγεκεῖν καθ' ὅτι ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οἰκήσεται. *Οἰκήσει* would also be correct.

§ 33. *ἡφαντισθη*] "was seen no more." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 38. 1 Θηραμένης ... ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται (was lost at sea).

§ 34. *τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα]* "the ships being ten in all." Cp. Hell. v. 4. 66 γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἔβδομηκοντα. Thuc. I. 100. 1 καὶ διέφευραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. II. 101. 7 μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας. VII. 60. 4 ἔνυπτληρώθησαν ρῆς αἱ πάσαις δέκα μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. VIII. 21 ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτενε. Jelf, § 454 1. β. The Manuscripts here read *πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα*, sc. "the ships being not less than ten," with which we might compare Hdt. I. 163 ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν (ἴτεα).

§ 35. *καταδευκυλας]* "water-logged." Cp. Arnold on Thuc. I. 50. 1 "Καταδεύειν ταῦν is synonymous with διαφθείρειν. Καταδεύειν ταῦν does not mean 'to sink a ship to the bottom,' but to make her water-logged, so that she was useless, although she did not absolutely go down. The Greek triremes were so light and shallow, that they would float in a manner under water, or rather with parts of the vessel still out of water, on which the crew used to take refuge. This appears from a passage in Herodotus, VIII. 90, where the crew of a ship, that had been sunk as far as it would sink, were still able to throw their javelins from it with such effect, that they cleared the deck of the ship which had sunk them, and actually took her."

P. 35. *μέγας γενόμενος*] Jelf, § 714. 1. c.

§ 36. *ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης]* "despatch-boat," "tender": cp. Demosth. 1221 ἀφικνέται ἐκ Μεθώνης τῆς Μακεδονίας ὑπηρετικὸν εἰς Θάσον ἀγον ἀνδρά καὶ ἐπιστολάς.

*οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.]* Compare the conduct of Agesilaus, Hell. IV. 3. 18.

§ 37. κατέπλεον] Cp. note, p. 2. 23.

ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια] Cp. Arist. Eq. 654 δυδρες, ηδη μοι δοκεῖ Ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθῶσι εἰσηγγελμέναις Εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῇ Θεῷ. Hell. iv. 3. 14 ἔβουθντει ὡς εὐαγγέλια. Σο θύειν ἐπωκια, διαβατήρια, γενέθλια, Λύκαια, γάμους. Jelf, § 560. 4.

τοῖς ἐμπόροις] sc. the masters of the trading-ships, which followed the fleet.

τὰ χρήματα] "merchandise." Cp. Thuc. III. 74. 2 ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη.

τὰς τριήρεις] sc. ἀποπλεῖν.

§ 38. τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐπεονίκου] Cp. Hell. vi. 1. 19 οὗτοι εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰδσονος πρόξεις ἐξέβην (made a digression).

c. VII. § 1. ἐν οἰκῷ] more commonly οἴκαι. Cp. 5. 16.

P. 36. § 2. Ἀρχέδημος] ridiculed by Eupolis and Aristophanes, and charged with having embezzled public money.

διωβελίας] "largess of two obols (for theatrical entertainments)."

ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλῶν] The ἐπιβολὴ was a limited fine which the various magistrates at Athens might impose without reference to a judicial tribunal.

§ 4. Θηραμένης] Theramenes, son of Hagnon, we find (Thuc. VIII. 68. 4) conspiring against the democracy and described by Thucydides as ἀνὴρ οὐτε εἰπεῖν οὐτε γνῶναι ἀδύνατος. He subsequently led the more moderate aristocrats (*id. VIII. 89. 2*), and even asserted that the oligarchy had invited the Peloponnesian fleet. Eetionia, a fort at the mouth of the Piraeus, was destroyed by the people at his suggestion (*id. VIII. 92. 10*). He afterwards joined Alcibiades (*supr. 1. 12*) with twenty ships from Macedonia, and having shared the victory at Cyzicus, was left in charge of Chrysopolis (1. 22).

δικαῖος εἶναι λόγοι οὐτοσχέν] Lat. "dignos esse qui c. subj." Jelf, § 667.

οὐκ ἀνελογτο] "had not picked up." For this pluperfect use of the aorist, cp. Thuc. I. 50. 1 τὰ σκάφη τῶν νεῶν ἀς καταδύσεις: II. 98. 2 ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὁδῷ ἦν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο: VIII. 93. 1 τόν τε Ἀλεξικλέα θν ξυνέλαβον ἀφέντες. Where there is no continuance in the effects resulting from the completed action which is represented as having occurred, the pluperfect is not used but some other simple past tense. Cp. II. 2. 3; 3. 20. Jelf, § 404.

τοὺς ναυαγούς] "the shipwrecked crews," i.e. living men

who had suffered shipwreck. Grote (vii. p. 417) calls attention to the fact that the question is not about picking up *dead* bodies but *living* men (cp. πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καραδεδυκας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, 6. 35). "Navayds," he says, "corresponds to the Latin 'naufragus'—mersa rate naufragus assem Dum rogat, et picta se tempestate tueretur (Juv. xiv. 301)."

§ 5. οἱ στρατηγοὶ... ἔκαστος ἀπελογήσατο] Cp. Hdt. vii. 104 τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἔκαστος φησι τριῶν δέξιος εἶναι. The number of the verb is not regulated by the whole subject, but by the apposed particulars. Jelf, § 478. Cp. *Anab.* i. 8. 9 τάντες δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἔκαστον τὸ θέντος ἐκορεύετο. We find the converse *Anab.* iv. 2. 12, διη ἐδύναντο ἔκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτέλευνον καὶ ἔβαλλον.

οὐ γάρ... νόμοι] i.e. the formal trial had not come on yet, where they would have a set time measured by the κλεψύδρα or water-clock for defence.

ἰκανοῖς] "competent."

ἔστρατηγηκόσιν ἥδη] "who had already held command," i.e. not belonging to those ἀπτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικά, 6. 4.

§ 6. δέοι] sc. αἰτιάσασθαι.

P. 37. παρεχόντο] "were ready to bring forward."

§ 7. ἐπειθον] "were in a fair way to persuade." Sturz misses the force of the imperfect in giving τείθεω (in this one passage) the meaning "mitigare," "placare." Cp. *Anab.* vii. 8. 7 ἐπειθον (tried to persuade) ἀποτρέπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὑπήκουον.

ἀναβαλέσθαι] "make an adjournment."

τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀν καθεώρων] "they would not have seen clearly (κατὰ, cp. κατάδηλος, &c.) the show of hands." The method of voting by show of hands (*χειροτονία*) was employed chiefly in the election of magistrates chosen in the public assemblies, in voting upon laws, and in certain trials on matters which concerned the people. The other decision of the people was given by ballot, i.e. by casting pebbles into urns (*ὑδρίαι, κάδισκοι*). Cp. 7. 9; ii. 4. 9.

εἰσενεγκεῖν] "bring in a motion."

§ 8. ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια] Thucydides (i. 126. 5) uses a plural verb (according to many Manuscripts) with the neuter plural substantive of festivals, which some explain by imagining a plurality of spectacles. The use of the imperfect here seems to confirm such an explanation, as denoting the continuance of the several events of the festival. The Apaturian festival

(*α=δμα, πατρια*) was celebrated by all Greeks of the Ionian name excepting those of Colophon and Ephesus. Cp. Hdt. i. 147 εοί δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες, δοιαί δὲ πάντες τοῖς Αθηνῶν γεγόνασι καὶ Απατούρια ἀγονοι δρτήν ἀγονοι δὲ πάντες τοῖς Εφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων. On the first day of the festival members of the same φρατρία (clan) assembled together to eat a supper of sausages. Cp. Arist. Ach. 146, 7 δὲ νιός (Sadocus), δοιαί Αθηναῖον ἐπεποιημέθα, Ἡρα φαγεῖν ἀλλάρρας ἐξ Απατούρων. The second day was called ἀνδρωσις, when sacrifice was offered to Zeus Phratrios and Athena. On the third day (*κουρεώτις*) grown up youths were enrolled among the φράτερες: cp. Arist. Av. 1669 ἥδη σ' ὁ πατήρ εἰσήγαγ' ἐς τοὺς φράτερας; Theophrastus represents the garrulous man (*ἀδολέσχης*) as displaying his knowledge that this festival was held in the month of Pyanepson.

οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην] "Theramenes and his party." Cp. Thuc. viii. 63. 3 οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρον πρέσβεις. The preposition ἀμφὶ is also thus used, II. 3. 46. Jelf, § 632. 3. 1. b.

μέλανα ιμάτια...κεκαρμένους] These were the two especial signs of mourning: cp. Eur. Hel. 1087 ἐγώ δὲ εἰς οἰκους βᾶσα βοστρύχους τεμῶ, Πέπλων τε λευκῶν μέλανας ἀνταλλάξομαι. Iph. A. 1438 μῆτρ' οὖν γε τὸν σὸν πλόκαμον ἐκτέμης τραχὸς Μῆτρ' ἀμφὶ σῶμα μέλανας ἀμπισχγ πέπλους. The Barbarians even cut off their hair and the manes of their horses in sign of public mourning: cp. Hdt. ix. 24; Eur. Alc. 428.

ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους] "closely shaven." Cp. Hdt. iv. 175 οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αἰξεσθαι τὰ δὲ ἔνθει καὶ ἔνθει κείροντες ἐν χρότ.

ὡς δῆ] "in pretence that they were." Cp. II. 3. 18; 3. 18.

§ 9. τήνδε] "as follows."

§ 10. τοῖς ἔνδεκα] Socrates asks (Plat. *Apol.* 37 C) why he should be content to live in prison and serve a board of these magistrates elected annually (*τῷ δὲ καθισταμένῳ ἀρχῇ*).

τῆς θεοῦ] Athena.

§ 11. φάσκω] Cp. note, 4. 6.

P. 38. § 12. παράνομα συγγεγραφέναι] "had proposed an unconstitutional measure," and was therefore liable to an indictment (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) for violating the spirit or letter of any existing law.

δεινὸν εἶναι] "it was monstrous."

τις] sc. Euryptolemus and his party. Cp. note, II. 3. 17.

§ 13. ἐπὶ τούτοις] sc. μετὰ ταῦτα.

ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν] "abandon the indictment."

§ 14. καλεῖν] "would summon."

§ 15. Σωκράτους] Xenophon tells us (*Mem.* i. 1. 18) that Socrates was chief president (*ἐπιστάτης*) on this occasion. Socrates himself says (*Plat. Apol.* 32 A—C) ἐγώ γὰρ, ὁ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δλληρι μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἡρξα ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δέ (was member of the council of 500). καὶ ἐτυχεν ήμων ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντιοχίς πριταρένουσα, ότε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐβούλεσθε ἀδρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε. τὸν ἐγώ μόνος τῶν πριταρέων ἡραντιώθην ὑμῖν μηδὲν τοιεῖν παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην· καὶ ἐτούμων δυτιῶν ἐνδεικνύνται με καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ ὑμῶν κελευθτῶν καὶ βοῶντων, μετὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου φίμην μᾶλλον με δεῖν διακινητεύειν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι μηδίκαια βουλευσομένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον.

§ 17. ἔπεισαν] sc. μὴ πέμπειν. Cobet reads μετέπεισαν, but we may compare Thuc. III. 32. 3 καὶ δὲ μὲν ἔπεισθη τε (was over-persuaded) καὶ Χίων ἀνδρας δύος εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε.

§ 18. εἰτα] "accordingly," "in consequence."

P. 39. § 19. σφᾶς αὐτοὺς] sc. ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. Cp. § 29 ἐαυτῶν δύτας τοὺς νόμους.

εἰδότες] "in full possession of the facts."

§ 20. ἀποδικεῖν] "causam dicere."

τὸ βάραθρον] This pit, into which criminals were cast at Athens, answered to the Spartan καιάδας. The envoys whom Darius sent to ask earth and water (Hdt. vii. 133) were cast by the Athenians into this pit, and told to fetch it up thence for the Great King.

P. 40. § 23. τριῶν μερῶν] Cp. Dem. F. L. 378 πρὸς διαμεμέτρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν αἱρέεις διώκων.

§ 24. οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται] "will not be put to death as guilty (ἀδικοῦντες, in the character of ἀδικοί)." The negative here must be taken in close connexion with ἀπολοῦνται, as in Hell. III. 5. 18 οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμονος στράτευμα. Cobet reads ἀδίκως. Cp. *Anab.* v. 7. 29 εἰ μέν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, "if he is guilty of having wronged you." Thuc. III. 65. 2 ἀδικοῦμεν, "we are guilty."

§ 26. τι δὲ καὶ δεδίκτες] Cp. note, II. 3. 47.

σφόδρα-οῦτως ἐπείγεσθε] Pausanias (vi. 7, 2) brings a charge

of reckless haste (*τροπέτεια*) against the Athenians in this matter. Such a charge is certainly not unfounded when we consider also their decree that the whole Mitylenean people should be put to death, and their subsequent remorse on the following day, owing to which, upon the motion of Diodotus and after an illegal assembly, a second ship being despatched arrived only just in time to prevent the execution of the decree (Thuc. III. 36—49). Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 630 ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ταχυβούλους...632 πρὸς Ἀθηναῖς μεταβούλους.

§ 27. *ἀλλ' ίσως...υστερον*] Cp. note, § 26.

*ἡδη*] “by that time.”

*θανάτου ἀνθρώπου*] “a man’s life (‘capitis’).”

§ 28. *Ἀριστάρχῳ* Aristarchus was an extreme opponent of the democracy, *ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δῆμῳ* (Thuc. VIII. 90. 1). On his flight from Athens he betrayed (Enoe to the Boeotians (*id.* VIII. 98. 3).

*τὸν δῆμον*] sc. *τὴν δημοκρατίαν*.

*κατὰ γνώμην*] “according to your satisfaction,” “*ex sententia*.”

P. 41. § 29. *εἰς τὴν γῆν*] sc. *εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας* (6. 33).

*ἐπὶ κέρως*] “in column”: Arnold on Thuc. II. 90. 4 (*ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μακρὰ ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας*) says “this term generally, I think, denotes a long thin column of men or ships; sometimes, however, a long thin line. The notion of extension and thinness is equally preserved in a single rank and in a single file; but usage has generally applied the term *ἐπὶ κέρως* to the latter.” Cp. note, II. 1. 23.

*γενέσθαι*] Cp. note, 6. 14.

§ 30. *δοξάντων τούτων*] Cp. note, 1. 36.

§ 31. *κατηγόρει*] “was the accuser of.” Cp. note, 2. 1.

*οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς*] Dindorf thinks the words *καὶ καλῶς* a gloss, comparing Plato’s frequent use of the simple *ἱκανῶς*.

§ 32. *ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου*] “by chance.” Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 40 D, where Socrates *οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου (casu) γέγονεν*.

*ῶν*] sc. *ἐστίν*.

P. 42. § 33. *τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαῖων*] sc. the bad weather (*ὁ χειμῶν*, § 32). Cp. Theophr. *Char.* 25 (where the coward asks the steersman) *τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.* —

*γεραίρειν*] Cp. note, I. 5.

§ 34. η δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγέ] sc. η γνώμη.

*ντομοσαμένου*] "having taken objection on oath."

§ 35. *προβολὰς*] "vote by the public Assembly of impeachment."

*έδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων*] In case a person accused in a public action failed to appear, his surety became liable to any punishment that such person had incurred by contempt of court; and so the law allowed the surety to hold the person of the accused in confinement till the day for his appearance.

## BOOK II.

P. 43. c. I. § 1. *ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας*] "on the fruits of the season (*τῶν ὥραων*)."  
Cp. Thuc. I. 120. 3 *τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὥραων*. III. 58. 4 *ὅσα τε η γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὥραια*. So *ἀπώρα* is used for "fruit," *infr.* 4. 25. For the preposition *ἀπὸ*, cp. Hdt. I. 216 *ἀπὸ κτητέων ἔρουσι καὶ λχθύων*. Thucydides uses the compound *ἀπογῆν* (I. 2. 2). Cp. *infr.* 8. 12 *ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ἔρωνται*. For a similar construction of the sentence, cp. *Anab.* VI. 1. 1 *οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔξων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληξύμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας*.

*γυμνοὶ*] "lightly clad." Cp. Lat. "nudus."

*ἔδοκει*] "it was agreed upon."

§ 2. *σύνθημα*] This commonly means "the watchword," "*tes-sera militaris*," which was given out before battle, and passed down the ranks: cp. Hdt. IX. 98 *τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβης*. Xen. *Anab.* I. 8. 16 *ἡρέτο δι καὶ εἴ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο δτι Ζεὺς Σωτῆρ καὶ Νίκη*. VI. 5. 25 *ἔτοντο σύνθημα παρήσει Ζεὺς Σωτῆρ, Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμών*. VII. 3. 39 *σύνθημα δ' εἰπον Ἀθηναῖαν*. Here however it appears to be equivalent to *συνθήκη*, "agreement": cp. *Anab.* IV. 6. 20 *καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, διότε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἅκρα, πυρά καλεῖν πολλά*. Hell. V. 4. 6 *ἡν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπει καθίζουστο, παλεῖν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους*.

*ἀπόρως εἰχε*] Cp. note, I. 5. 8.

*τι χρώτο τῷ πράγματι*] "how to deal with the matter."

*τὰ πράγματα*] "the cause."

§ 3. δόθαλμιῶντι...ἀπίωντι...ἔχοντι] The absence of any connecting particle brings forward each notion as distinct and emphatic. Jelf, § 467. 6.

§ 4. ἀπέθανεν] "had been killed." Cp. 3. 24.

δει ὁ ἀκούων] "each one as he heard the news (successively)." Cp. 4. 8 τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον δει.

P. 44. § 5. ἔσθμηνεν] It is difficult to say whether ὁ Ἐπεόνικος is the subject to ἔσθμηνεν (cp. 1. 22 Δύσανδρος...ἔσθμηνεν) or whether the subject is implied in the predicate, sc. ὁ σαλπιγκής. Jelf, § 373. 2. We have the full phrase, *Anab.* iv. 3. 29 ἐπειδάν δὲ σαλπιγκής σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν.

ἐν μέρει] Cp. ἀνὰ μέρος, κατὰ μέρος.

§ 6. εὐ φερόμενον] Cp. note, i. 5. 17.

§ 7. ἐπιστολέα] "vice-admiral": cp. note, i. 1. 23.

§ 8. οὐ διέωσαν κ.τ.λ.] "they had not thrust their hands through the sleeve (of their loose tunic)." Probably the sleeve would be wide and flowing, and on ordinary occasions would either hang at the side, or be thrown back over the shoulder: in the present case they would cover their arms with it as a mark of respect. A similar garment is still retained amongst the neighbouring nations. Cp. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 10 καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν καταβεβηκτες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς χειρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν διερουσιν, θταν ὄρα βασιλεύς. So the king alone might wear his bonnet erect: cp. *Arist.* *An.* 486, 7 διὰ ταῦτ' ἀρέ ἔχων καὶ νῦν ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας διαβάτει Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβασίαν τῶν δρυίδων μάνος ὅρθη. *Anab.* ii. 5. 23.

χειρίς] The Persians serving in the grand army of the invasion are represented (*Hdt.* vii. 61) as wearing περὶ τὸ σώμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτὸς ποικίλον. The old Manuscript reading here is η χειρός. I have ventured to enclose this explanation of the κέρη in brackets (cp. a similar explanation of the κόθορος, 3. 31), ranking it among Cobet's "insulsa sciolorum additamenta."

ἔχων] sc. τις. Cp. *Hell.* iii. 1. 19 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχοντος αὐτῶν ἥκε λέγων (τις) δτι ὅσα λέγοντες οἱ πρόσθετοι καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοντεν. Jelf, § 373. 6. Cobet reads ἔχων τις. The omission is common in Aristotle.

§ 9. Ἰεραμένης] mentioned by Thucydides (viii. 58. 1) as sharing in the treaty of Tissaphernes with the Lacedæmonians.

P. 45. § 10. Ἀυτάνδρῳ] Cp. note, i. 1. 25.

§ 11. πλεῖστον πολλῷ] Jelf, § 609. 1.

§ 18. μετεπέμψατο] sc. to Sardis.

§ 18. Καδουσίων] dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian sea.

§ 14. τούτου ἔνεκεν] Cp. note, i. 1. 24.

P. 46. § 15. Κεράμειον] Cp. i. 4. 8 τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον.

δρομα] Cp. i. 6. 29 ὀνόματι Ἰππεύς. Jelf, § 579. 4.

προσβολῇ] Dindorf would strike out this word, alleging that it cannot be taken in connection with either τὴν ὑστεραῖαν or κατὰ κράτος. Cp. note i. 1. 14. But why cannot προσβολῇ be taken with τὴν ὑστεραῖαν? Cp. Poppo on Thuc. vii. 11. 2 μάχην τὴν μὲν πρώτην... τὴν δὲ ὑστεραῖαν. v. 46. 1 τὴν δὲ ὑστεραῖαν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Demosthenes gives us κατὰ κράτος in close connection with ἐκ προσβολῆς: F. L. 360 τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσσαν ἀλλῶν πολιορκίᾳ μηδὲ ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος (where see Shilleto's epigrammatic note), so that on all hands we must not concur lightly in Dindorf's "manifesto tollendum."

κατὰ κράτος] Cp. note, i. 6. 13.

αἱρεῖ καὶ ἔχηρδρα πόδισεν] "The more important action, represented by the Historic Present, is brought vividly before our eyes, while the less important is allowed to pass rapidly by in the Aorist." Jelf, § 401. 6. The Present seems to convey the general statement, while the Past tense singles out some particular incident in close connection with it: cp. *Anab.* iv. 6. 22 οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες φύοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὅρος. v. 8. 6 ἀναγγεγνώσκει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἥρετο. Thuc. vii. 83. 4 οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐκπλωνταν.

μικοβάρβαροι] Cp. Eur. *Phæn.* 187 ὡς διλλόχρως διπλοισι, μικοβάρβαρος.

§ 16. δρυμώμενοι] Cp. note, i. 4. 23.

τὴν βασιλέως] sc. χώραν. Cp. note, i. 1. 24.

πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχοντι] in addition to Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles (i. 7. 1).

§ 17. πρός τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλούν] "both to watch the sailing out of the merchant vessels," "naves onerariæ," as distinguished from "naves longæ." Cp. Thuc. iv. 116. 2 τοῖς τε πλοῖοις καὶ ταῖς ναυσιν.

πελάγιοι] "keeping the open sea." Cp. Thuc. viii. 101. 1 οὐ πελάγιαι, ἵνα μὴ περιτύχωσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσὶν, διλλὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λέσβον ἔχοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν ἥπειρον.

§ 18. *'Αβύδου*] a colony from Miletus: Thuc. viii. 61. 1 *'Αβύδον ἀποστήσων* (*εἰσὶ δὲ Μιλησίων ἀποικοι*). Strabo says that the inhabitants came from Cyzicus.

*Θώραξ*] Plutarch tells us (*Lysand.* c. 19) that this Thorax (*ἀργύριον ἰδίᾳ κεκτημένον*) met his death at the hands of the Lacedaemonians on the complaints of Pharnabazus respecting Lysander's system of oppression.

§ 19. *σώματα*] Cp. for this use of *σώματα* (*ἀνθρωποι*) Dem. c. *Lept.* 480 *τρισχίλια δ' αιχμάλωτα σώματα δεῦρ' ἥγαγε.* *de Cor.* 231 *οὐτε χρήμασι οὐτε σώμασιν* (*troopis*) *οὐτ' ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ τῷρ* *ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν.*

§ 20. *κατὰ πόδας*] "in close pursuit." Cp. Thuc. viii. 17. 3 *καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας μιᾶς δεούσας εἰκοσιν ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντες.*

*τῆς Χερρονήσου*] Partitive Genitive of place. Cp. i. 2. 14 *εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοποιίαις.* *Anab.* i. 2. 7 *εἰς Κελαιὰς τῆς Φρυγίας.* ii. 2. 6 *ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας.* Thuc. viii. 100. 3 *\*Ἐρεσος τῆς Δέσποιν.*

§ 21. *διέχει*] The Manuscripts here give *διεῖχε*, but the breadth of the Hellespont must have remained the same. So in Thuc. i. 63. 2, *ἀπέχει* not *ἀπέῖχε* seems to be correct: *διέχετον* not *διείχετον*, *id.* ii. 86. 3 (where the distance between Rhium and Antirrhium could not have varied between the time of which Thucydides was speaking, and that at which he wrote). Several Manuscripts give *ἀπέχον* for *ἀπέχον*, Thuc. vii. 34. 8. Jelf however (§ 398. 1. *Obs.* 3) believes that the imperfect is used in consequence of the present fact being stated with reference to past circumstances.

**P. 47. § 22. παραβλήματα**] Cp. note, i. 6. 19.

§ 23. *ἀνίσχοντι*] This is the usual form in this phrase: cp. Hdt. iii. 98 *ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος.* However Xenophon gives us *ἄμ' ἥλιψ ἀνέχοντι*, *Cyn.* 6. 13.

*ἐν μετώπῳ*] sc. *μετωπηδόν*, "in line," opposed to *ἐπὶ κέρως*, "in column" (i. 7. 29)."

§ 24. *ἔξεβιβασεν*] sc. *τοὺς ναύτας.* For the omission of the object, cp. i. 6. 20.

§ 25. *ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν*] Cp. note, i. 5. 17.

*πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους*] nearly two miles.

*ἐν καλῷ*] Cp. Thuc. v. 59. 4 *ἐν καλῷ ἐδύκει ἡ μάχη ἐσεσθαι.*

§ 26. *αὐτὸν γάρ...έκεῖνον*] Many Manuscripts here give *αὐτούς*. *Αὐτὸν*, if not universal, is more congenial to the Greek idiom, as referring to the subject of the sentence: cp. 2. 17 *οὐ γάρ εἶναι κύριος...ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔφορους*. Cp. also Thuc. iv. 28. 2 *οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἔκεῖνον στρατηγῶν*. When however the subject has not yet been mentioned, the accusative is correct, as in Thuc. vi. 4. 2 *πρὸν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσσι ὕστερον ἔκα-δν η ἀυτοὺς οἰκήσαι, Πάριλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι.*

*φέρετο*] Cp. note, i. 1. 8. The Imperfect of *ηκω* is also used in an Aorist sense: cp. *Anab.* i. 2. 6; ii. 3. 17. Thuc. vi. 30. 2 *οἱ δὲ ξένοι καὶ δὲ ἄλλοι δῆλος κατὰ θέαν ἤκεν.*

§ 27. *ἔπει ην...Δθημαλος*] Cp. note, i. 4. 7.

P. 48. *τοῦμπαλιν*] Cobet reads *eis τοῦμπαλιν*. Herodotus writes *τὰ ἔμπαλιν, τάμπαλιν*.

*ἄραι ἀσπίδαι*] The Achemenidae had the credit of inviting the Persians to sail round the promontory of Sunium and occupy Athens by a similar signal after the battle of Marathon: cp. Hdt. vi. 115 *τούτους γάρ συνθεμένους τούτι Πέρσης ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἔσυσι ηδη ἐν τῇσι νηνσι.*

§ 28. *κατὰ κράτος*] Cp. note, i. 6. 13.

*διεσκεδασμένων...δυτῶν*] Cp. note, i. 2. 2.

*δίκροτοι...μονόκροτοι*] "with two tiers of rowers...with one tier." Each trireme had three ranks of rowers (*θραῦται, συγῆται, θαλαμοί*). Thucydides (i. 13. 2) credits the Corinthians with the invention of triremes. Vessels with more than three ranks of rowers were not constructed in Greece till after the Peloponnesian war, when Dionysius I. built *τετρῆρεις* about 400 B.C. Subsequently we find *πεντῆρεις, ἔξηρεις* and even a *τεσσαρακοντήρεις*.

*ἡ Πάραλος*] The Paralus and the Salaminia were the two state-triremes at Athens. Their crews were composed of free citizens, and received four obols *per diem*, i.e. one obol more than the usual pay.

§ 29. *τὰ μεγάλα ἴστια*] Cp. note, i. 1. 13.

*Εὐαγδραν*] prince of Salamis.

*ἀπαγγέλλουσα*] Cp. note, 4. 37. The action, which reaches into future time, is viewed as now beginning in act or intention: cp. Eur. *Androm.* 820, 1 *καὶ μην ἐν οἰκοις προσπόλων ἀκούμενον Βοῆν ἐφ' οἰστις ἥλθεις ἀγγέλλουσα σύ.* Jelf, § 705. 6. ε.

P. 49. § 31. *τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκεπτεων*] Cicero (*de Off.* iii. 11) refers to a similar decree as having been made with respect to the Eginetans: "durius etiam Athenienses, qui

sciverunt ut *Eginetis* qui classe valebant, pollices praeciderentur."

§ 32. ὅσαι ἡσαν] Pausanias says four thousand.

γῆτιάθη μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] Demosthenes (*de F. L.* 401) tells us that Conon actually preferred an accusation against Adimantus. Cp. for the passive sense (usually, *αἰτιαν ἔχειν*) Thuc. vi. 53. 2 *αἰτιαθέντα ἀνέλεγκτον διαφυγεῖν*. viii. 68. 2 ὑπὲρ αἰτῶν τούτων *αἰτιαθεῖς*.

ἀρχάμενος] "having made a beginning (for himself and others)," not "having been the first," which would be *ἀρξας*, as Hell. vi. 5. 37 *τίνες ἡσαν οἱ ἀρξαντες ἀδικεῖν*. "Αρχεω = "make a beginning" (cp. *ἀρχειν ἀδικίας, ἀδίκων χειρῶν*, "be the aggressor," &c.), *ἀρχεσθαι* = "make a beginning for oneself." So Thuc. i. 144. 2 *πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἀρξομεν, ἀρχομένον δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα*, "we will not be the first to open hostilities, but if they begin the war (for themselves and others), we will resist them :" *infra*. 3. 38 ἔπει δέ γε οὗτοι ἡρξαντο (*quum cœpissent*) *δυδρας καλούς τε κάγανος συλλαμβάνειν*. Cp. *Anab.* i. 6. 5 *ἀρχειν τοῦ λόγου*, "open the conference;" iii. 2. 7 *τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἡρχετο ὡδε*, "began his speech thus."

ἀπέσφαξεν] Plutarch tells us (*Lysand.* 13) that Philocles refused to answer the question of Lysander, and walked in a bright cloak to execution at the head of the prisoners.

c. II. § 1. οἱ προδόντες] Cp. i. 3. 14, sqq.

ἐγένεντο Ἀθηναῖοι] i.e. received the Athenian franchise. Cp. Thuc. ii. 67. 2 *τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον*.

§ 2. εἰ τινά του ἀλλον] This would include the *κληρονοῦχοι*, or citizens to whom conquered lands had been allotted. Cp. *Memor.* ii. 8. 1 ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἀφηρέθημεν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα (ὑπὸ τῆς κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου).

εἰδὼς δτι...ξεσθαι] Xenophon (as Shilleto says on Thuc. i. 43. 2) not unfrequently departs from his country's usage in these matters. Thucydides himself has a confusion (iv. 37. 1) between *γνών διαφθαρησομένους* and *γνών δτι διαφθαρησονται*. Cp. Hell. iii. 4. 27 *τοιῷδε λογισμῷ ὡς...εἶναι*. Jelf, § 804. 7.

P. 50. § 3. δ ἔτερος...παραγγέλλων] not exactly a nominative absolute, but in apposition to and explanatory of *οἰμωγή*, thus taking the place of a following genitive. Cp. Thuc. v. 70. 1 *ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόντως καὶ δργῇ χωρούντες*—, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως*. Soph. *Antig.* 259, 60 *λόγοι δ ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἔρροδουν κακοί, Φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα*. Jelf, § 708. 1.

*πενθοῦντες*] sc. πάντες.

*έποιησαν*] Cp. note, i. 7. 4.

§ 5. *κατεσκευάσατο*] by establishing a δεκαδαρχία or government of ten in connexion with the Lacedæmonian harmost: Plut. *Lysand.* 18 ἔνα μὲν ἀρμοστὴν ἐκάστη λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπεν, δέκα δὲ ἀρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἐταπιών. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* v. 7. 14 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πανταχοῦ τὰς διηγαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς δῆμους κατέλιπον.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία] including the Athenian possessions along the northern coast of the Aegean from Thessaly to the Hellespont. Jelf, § 633. 1. c.

§ 6. *σφαγὰς...πόλιν*] “having made (on a former occasion) a massacre of the notables, were still keeping possession (not κατέσχον, cp. 1. 2 τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες) of the city.” This former occasion Grote refers to Thuc. viii. 21, by which the island was firmly secured to the alliance of Athens. Οἱ γυνώριμοι are opposed to δῆμος. Aristotle calls them καλοὶ κάγαθοι (“gentlemen”).

§ 7. *Ἴπεμψε*] “sent word.”

P. 51. § 8. *τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ*] not exactly “in the gymnasium called the Academy,” but, “in the Academy, as that gymnasium is called.” Cobet omits these words as spurious.

§ 9. *τῆς αὐτῶν*] sc. γῆς, πατρίδος. Cp. note, i. 1. 24.

*διστέροντο*] “were lacking (had been deprived of).”

§ 10. *ἔκείνους*] sc. the Peloponnesians.

§ 11. *τοὺς δτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες*] Such a decree as the present one (proposed by Patroclides) had never been submitted to the people since the advance of Xerxes in the Persian war. It consisted in the restoration of those who had become δτίμοι, i. e. judicially deprived owing to crime of civil rights and privileges (Lat. “*ærarii*”), to their rights and franchises. The δτίμοι could not hold office, speak in the senate or assembly, bring actions, appear as witnesses, or claim any state-protection. A law mentioned by Demosthenes ordained that the releasing of δτίμοι should never be proposed in the public assembly unless an assembly of at least 6000 citizens had previously in secret deliberation agreed that such might be done. Thucydides tells us that the Spartans in Sphacteria who had surrendered to the Athenians were punished with a temporary δτίμα: v. 34. 2 δτίμους ἐποίησαν, δτίμιαν δὲ τούτων

εστε μήτε ἀρχειν μήτε πριαμένους τι η πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι· ὅστεροι δὲ αὐθίς χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.

§ 12. οὐ γάρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός] “for that he had not full powers (to treat).”

§ 13. αὐτόθι] “on the spot.”

P. 52. § 15. ἐβούλετο] The best Manuscripts here give ἐβούλετο, not ἐβούλετο. *Supr.* I. 1. 29 one Manuscript only reads ἐβούλοντο, and ἐβούλοντο is the common reading, I. 2. 15. ἐβούλοντο is read, I. 7. 7. The Tragedians use the double augment rarely: Aristophanes never. In Thucydides we read ἐβούλοντο only in vi. 79. 3. In Xenophon the best Manuscripts and editions differ. Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, p. 125.

ἐκατέρου] Thucydides (I. 107. 1) speaks of *two* walls, one to Phalerum, the other to the Piraeus. Afterwards he speaks of *two* to the Piraeus (II. 13. 9). The Phaleric wall he there describes as thirty-five stadia in length: the two others (which he calls the long walls) he describes as forty stadia in length.

§ 16. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων] sc. τῶν πραγμάτων. Cp. note, 4. 29.

εἰδὼς ηὔει] “he would find out before he came back.”

πίστεως ἔνεκα] “as a pledge for their (the Athenians’) fidelity.” Cp. *Anab.* III. 3. 4 καὶ γάρ τῶν Τισσαφέροντος τις οἰκεῖων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἔνεκα (sc. to secure the fidelity of Mithridates). Thuc. IV. 66. 4 ἐν γὰρ αὐτῷ μόνοι ἐφρούρουν βεβαιώτητος ἔνεκα.

τις] Cp. note, 3. 17.

§ 17. ηὔει] “had returned,” in the Tragedians ἀψορρού, πάδιν ηὔειν.

αὐτὸν...κατέχοι] Αὐτὸν is emphatic (in direct narration ἐμὲ) and therefore commences the sentence: cp. I. 6. 2.

δέκατος αὐτὸς] “with nine others.” Cp. Thuc. I. 116. 1 Πειριλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος. Αὐτὸς, joined with these ordinal numerals, is generally used of the chief of an expedition. Jelf, § 656. 3. f.

P. 53. § 19. ἔξαιρεῖν] “wipe out,” “blot out.” Cp. Thuc. IV. 122. 6 ψήφισμά τε εὐθὺς ἐποιήσαντο Κλεῶνος γνώμη πεισθέντες Σκιωναλούς ἔξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. Shilleto on Dem. *F. L.* 361 (τὴν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Θηβαῖοι ψῆφον ἔθεντο οὗτοι περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ προτεθέσαν) states that “after the fatal defeat at Αἴγασποταμί, and the subsequent surrender of Athens, the revengeful malice of a Theban orator had proposed to utterly

raze Athens to the ground, to sell the inhabitants for bond-slaves, and to convert Attica into a sheep-walk. It was on this occasion probably that the memorable saying of one Leptines (according to Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 10. 7) was uttered, "that Greece should not be permitted to be left one-eyed." In the discussion between the Athenian and Malian negotiators on the submission of Melos to the Athenian dominion, the Athenians themselves say that it is not the vengeance of the Lacedæmonians which they would dread in case of defeat, but rather the consequences which might ensue from the victory of their subject allies: Thuc. v. 91 *ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ ταυθῆ, οὐκ ἀθυμούμεν τὴν τελευτήν οὐ γάρ οἱ ἀρχούτες ἀλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐτοὶ δεινοὶ τοῖς οὐκτηθεῖσιν.* Εστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἄγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἡν οἱ ὑπήκοοι που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσι.

§ 20. *ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην*] "were ready to make (were for making) peace." Cp. Thuc. i. 134. 1 *τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο, "were purposing his arrest."*

ἔφ' ϕ] In the principal clause *ἔπι τούτῳ* (*ἔπι τοῖσδε*) is either implied or expressed. We find it expressed, Hdt. iii. 83 *ἔπι τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ϕ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων δροῦμαι.* vii. 154 *ἔρρυσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ϕ τε Ἰπποκράτει Καμάρων Συρκοσίους παραδοῦναι.* Plat. *Apol.* 29 C *αὐλὴ ἀφίεμεν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἔφ' ϕ τε μηκέτι ἐπ ταύτῃ τῇ ξηρήσει διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν.* Jelf, § 867. 2.

καθέντας] The Manuscript reading *κατάξαντας* (*κατάγω*) is considered barbarous in classic Attic, although Thucydides (ii. 97. 8) gives us *προσῆκαν*. Cp. Hdt. vii. 60. Ar. *Ran.* 468. Veitch, p. 13.

§ 22. *προηγόρει αὐτῶν*] "was their spokesman." Cp. the imperfect use of *ἐντάκτα* (i. 2. 1), *κατηγόρει* (i. 7. 31).

§ 23. *κατέτελει*] "sailed in (*κατὰ*, "down from the high seas")." Cp. i. 4. 13, although *κατὰ* may have the force there of "back from exile," as in *κατάγειν, κάθοδος*. Arnold says on Thuc. i. 112. 4, "This manner of speaking is derived from the apparent elevation of the horizon line of the sea above the shore, so that vessels seem ascending as they go further away from the land." So *μετέωρος* is used for "out at sea." Cp. *ἀνάγεσθαι*, "put to sea."

ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων] "to the accompaniment of flute-girls." Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 1001 *πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σαλπιγγος.* Hdt. vii. 22 *ὑρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων.* Cic. *Tusc.* i. 2. 3 *canere ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus.* Jelf, § 639. 1. 2. c.

ἀρχειν τῆς ἀλευθερίας] "was the beginning of liberty." Cp. Thuc. ii. 12. 4 *ηδε η ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἀρξει.*

§ 24. ἐτυράννησε] "became tyrant." Cp. Hdt. II. 2 πρὸς μὲν ἡ Ψαμμίτεων σφέων βασιλεύειται. Thuc. II. 15. 3 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε. Cp. also note, I. 4. 16.

P. 54. c. III. § 2. οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 67. 1 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δῆμον ξυλλέξαντες εἰπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι ξυγγράφεας αὐτοκράτορας (decem-viros legibus scribendis). The future indicative is used to bring forward prominently the essence and especial aim of the decree. Jelf, § 886. 2. b.

§ 4. ἀρξαὶ] "become ruler of." Cp. note, 2. 24. Jason succeeded a few years later in becoming ταγός (commander in chief): as did also Alexander of Pheræ after Jason's death.

§ 5. Λεωτίνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες] Cp. Thuc. V. 4.

P. 55. § 7. τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις πολίταις] sc. the four hundred, who had been ejected by the popular revolution at Samos: Thuc. VIII. 21 τετρακοσίους δὲ φυγὴν ἡγιώσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκίας νειμάμενοι.

§ 8. ἀκρωτήρια] The extremities of the prow were usually taken from a conquered vessel as a mark of victory: cp. Hdt. VIII. 121 ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρὶς ἔχων ἐν τῷ χερὶ ἀκρωτήριον τῆρας. The act of doing so was called ἀκρωτηριάζειν: cp. Hell. VI. 2. 36 δὲ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἔλκων κατηγόρει εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα.

Δ περιεγένοντο] The plurality of the noun of number (τάλαντα) gives us a plural verb: cp. Thuc. VI. 62. 4 καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. V. 26. 2 ἀμφοτέροις ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο. Anab. I. 4. 4 ἡσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχοι. Supr. I. 1. 23. So when the notion of plurality of parts is to be signified: cp. Anab. I. 7. 17 φανερὰ ἡσαν τχην πολλά. Cp. note, I. 7. 8. Jelf, § 385. b.

παρέδειξεν] Cp. I. 14.

§ 9. ἔξαμηνος] sc. χρόνος. Cp. Hell. III. 4. 3 καὶ ἔξαμηνον σῖτον. Hdt. IV. 25 οἱ τὴν ἔξαμηνον καθεύδοντι. Cobet reads δέ ἔξαμηνος.

Ἀλησίας] Thucydides (II. 2. 1) also speaks of the war as properly commencing in the fifteenth year after the formation of the thirty years' truce, i. e. in March or April, B.C. 431, by the attack of the Thebans upon Platæa: ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργείων λεωμένης, καὶ Αλησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναῖος.

§§ 9, 10. εἰς δέ ἔξαμηνος...κατέπλευσεν] Clinton (Fast. Hellen.) says that this computation of Xenophon, with the exception of

twenty-seven years and a half in place of twenty-eight years and a half, is substantially correct, as the Lacedæmonians computed it. The Athenians, he says, reckoned the war to terminate at the surrender of their city; the Lacedæmonians extended it to the return of Lysander to Lacedæmon after the reduction of Samos, about six months after the surrender of Athens, and in the autumn of B. C. 404. Thucydides (v. 26) says ἐτῇ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι.

§ 10. Πλειστόλας] mentioned as ephor B. C. 421, in the year that the treaty of peace for fifty years was concluded between Athens and Lacedæmon (Thuc. v. 19. 1).

Ἀλεξιππίδας] mentioned as ephor in the year in which Tissaphernes concluded a new treaty with the Peloponnesians, B.C. 411.

P. 56. § 11. ἐπει τάχιστα] "as soon as ever."

§ 12. συκοφαντίας] "laying vexatious information," "making calumnious accusations." Becker (*Char.* p. 65) borrows an interesting description of the sycophant from Demosthenes: "Cast your eyes to the right, on the haggard man in the fish-market, with black matted hair, who sidles about, not buying anything himself, but watching everybody else; he is a most dangerous sycophant, and glides about the market like a scorpion, with his venomous sting all ready, spying out whom he may surprise with misfortune and ruin, and from whom he can most easily extort money, by threatening him with an action dangerous in its consequences. You won't see him speak or associate with any one, but, as the painters encompass the shades of the wicked in Hades with the terrific phantoms of cursing and slander, of envy, discord, and strife, so are his attendants. It is the very bane of our city, that it cherishes and protects this poisonous brood, and uses them as informers, so that even the honest man must flatter and court them, in order to be safe from their machinations." Cp. *Symp.* 4. 30 ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς δὲ παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἵκανδε εἶην ή παῖδες ἐκείνους. Crito by Socrates' advice takes a sycophant into his pay to countermine another man's machinations. According to the Megarian's views (Arist. *Ach.* 829) the sycophant was the pest of Athens: *οἶον τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τοῦτ' ἔνι.*

τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς] sc. the oligarchy; Lat. "boni," "optimates."

συνήδεσαν ἁντοῖς μὴ δυτεῖς] The participle may also agree with the personal pronoun following the verb, as in Plat. *Apol.* 22 D ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ξυνήδειν οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ. Cp. 4. 17.

§ 13. *συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν*] The full construction would be *ῶστε ἐλθεῖν*. Cp. *Hell.* iv. 6. 14 *ἡλπίζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὡστ' ἀπολαβεῖν*. *Anab.* vii. 8. 23 *συνέπραττον γὰρ... ὡστ' ἔξαρτα λαβεῖν*. So *Thuc.* viii. 29. 2 *ξυμπλέων παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς*. Cp. *infr.* 4. 28. Jelf, § 666. 2.

· *ἕως δὴ* “until forsooth.” By *τοὺς πονηροὺς* (“the evildoers”) of course were meant those who did not favour the oligarchy.

§ 14. *τῶν φρουρῶν*] “some guards.” Cp. *Thuc.* iv. 80. 2 *καὶ ἄμα τῶν Εἵλωτών βουλμένους ἣν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψατε*, where Arnold compares the partitive article in French “*des Hélotes*.” *Anab.* i. 5. 7 *λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ*. Jelf, § 533.

*δλίγου ἀξίους*] This seems to be a sort of conventional phrase for the “*profundum vulgus* :” cp. *Hell.* vii. 1. 13 *δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων*.

*ἐνθμήσον... ἀνέχεσθαι*] either, “actually did not,” or, “would not brook being set aside.” *Ἄντε* may be supplied from the second clause, as in § 27; but, where no condition is implied, it is not necessary. Cp. *Thuc.* iii. 24. 1 *νομίζοντες ἡκιστα σφᾶς ταῦτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπήσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμούς*. Cobet inserts *ἄντε*. But the present occurrence of their *actually being set aside* may distinguish the first clause as a positive fact from the second as a conditional probability.

§ 15. *ὁ Κρίτιας*] Grote (viii. p. 23) tells us that this Critias son of Callæschrus, had been one of the persons accused of the mutilation of the Hermæ; that he was the maternal uncle of Plato and had intimately frequented the society of Socrates. He had passed some time of his exile in Thessaly, where he engaged himself in arming the Penestæ or serfs against their masters (*infr.* § 36). He is introduced in four Platonic dialogues, and Cicero (*de Orat.* ii. 22. 93) notices his historical compositions: “*consecuti sunt hos* (Pericles, Alcibiades and Thucydides) *Critias, Theramenes, Lysias.*”

P. 57. *φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*] The Manuscripts read *ἀπὸ τοῦ δ.* (cp. note, 4. 31). But *ὑπό* is used of the agent with intransitive verbs: cp. *Anab.* iii. 4. 11 *ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι*. v. 1. 15 *ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος*. vii. 7. 23 *εὐ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἐξακισχιλων ἀνθρώπων*. Jelf, § 639. 2. a.

δὲ δὲ *Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε* “then Theramenes began to oppose.” *Δέ* is placed in the apodosis of the sentence with the principal verb. Cp. *Thuc.* i. 11. 2 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφιέμενοι μάχη ἐκράτησαν, φαίνονται δ' οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι*. viii. 70. 1 *ὡς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ...οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι ἀπεκλήρισαν*. Jelf, § 770.

πολλὰ δὴ] “very many things.”

§ 16. ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι] “make away with.”

ῶσπερ τυραννίδος] Jelf (§ 779. Obs. 2) states that the comparative adverb ὡς or ὡσπερ can stand after comparatives instead of ἡ, and compares Plat. *Rep.* 526 C ἡ γε μείω τόνον παρέχει μακράντι καὶ μελετῶντι, οὐκ διὰ ῥᾳδίως οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἀν εὐροις, ὡς τοῦτο. “Ωσπερ seems equivalent rather to οὐτως ὡσπερ.

§ 17. συνιστάμενοι] “gathering together in factious knots.” Cp. Thuc. II. 21. 2 κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν τολλῆ ἔριδι ἡσαν.

εἰ μή τις] *Tis* seems to be either indefinite (cp. I. 1. 35; Thuc. V. 14. 8 οὐκ ἥθελοι σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυρουπλαγῆν ἀποδώσει), Fr. “on,” or Theramenes may intend it to refer to Critias, and wish to avoid naming him. Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1138 τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνταν τοῦτος ἔρχεται τινί (i.e. for thee). *Supr.* 2. 16 ἦτι τις λέγοι, *tis* evidently refers to the Lacedæmonians: I. 5. 15 εἰ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν, *tis* means Lysander. For the indefinite use, cp. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 568, 9 *qua* quis apud superos, furto letatus inani, *Distulit in serum commissa piacula mortem.* *Anab.* I. 4. 12 οὐκ ἔφασαν λέναι, ἐλα μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ, Cyrus is directly pointed at. Jelf, § 373. 7. Obs. 2.

§ 18. Κριτας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα] Cp. note, 4. 6.

οὐχ ἥκιστα] “more than anybody.” Cp. Thuc. VII. 44. 6 μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιωνισμός. So οὐχ ἥσσον usually has the positive meaning of “more” in Thucydides: cp. I. 44. 1 οὐχ ἥσσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραὶ μετέγνωσαν... Cp. also Hell. VI. 4. 18 οὐκ ἐλάχιστας δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. Jelf, § 738. 2. Obs. 1.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων] So at Athens B.C. 411 five thousand were to “have a share in the government,” i.e. have the name of ruling citizens whereas the real power would still be in the hands of the aristocracy: Thuc. VIII. 65. 3 οὗτε μεθεκτέος τῶν πραγμάτων πλείστιν ἡ πεντακισχιλίοις.

§ 19. τρισχιλίους] sc. κοινωνούς. Γενέσθαι or a similar infinitive may be easily supplied after βούλομένους.

ῶσπερ...ἔχοντα] “Ωσπερ here represents νομίζοντα or an equivalent participle.” Cp. Thuc. VI. 24. 3 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς ἡ καταστρεψομένους ἔφ' ἀ ἐπλεον, ἡ οὐδὲν ἀν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν. Hdt. IX. 42 οὗτε ὑμέων δοι τυγχάνουσι εἴνοις ἔντες Πέρσης, ηδεσθε τοῦδε εἰνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.

*Memor.* I. 2. 20 ὡς τὴν μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ὁμιλιαν δικησιαν οὐσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς. *ib.* I. 3. 2 ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς καλλιστα εἰδότας ὅποια ἀγαθά ἔστι. *ib.* II. 3. 3 ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γυνομένους φίλους, ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γυνομένους. *Symp.* I. 11 ὥσπερ τούτο ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονος τινος. *Jelf*, § 551. 1. f. *Obs.*; § 703.

§ 20. *τῶν μὲν τρισχίλιων... ἀλλαχοῦ*] So the aristocratical exiles (Thuc. IV. 74) having been readmitted into Megara ἔξτασιν ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους, i.e. in different parts of the town, that the citizens might be more easily overpowered, and deprived of the means of cooperating with each other.

P. 58. *κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα*] “having ordered them to fetch their arms (cp. 3. 54 ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην).” Arnold on Thuc. II. 2. 5 remarks that so inveterate was the practice of piling the spear and shield on every possible occasion that in reviews the ordinary “stand at ease” of a Grecian soldier was to get rid of his long spear and shield; and whenever they were addressed by their general they always left their arms piled, and attended him unarmed (cp. Thuc. IV. 91 Παγάνδας προσκαλῶν ἐκδοτούς κατὰ λόχους ὅπλως μὴ ἀθροίοις ἐκλίποιεν τὰ ὅπλα. VI. 58. 2 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν (ἀνεῦ τῶν ὅπλων) οἴβρενοι τι ἐρείν αὐτόν). This practice, he says, was on one or two occasions made use of by tyrants to disarm the citizens, their foreign guards being instructed to carry off the spears and shields of the national infantry, while piled in the usual manner, during the time that the citizens in military order were attending unarmed in another quarter to a speech purposely addressed to them by the tyrant, that he might be enabled to effect this object. Cobet thinks the passage corrupt: and certainly it is very difficult to understand the sequence of events in the transaction.

ἐν φ ἐκεῖνοις ἀπεληλύθεσαν] The variant reading *ἀπεληλύθησαν* might suggest *ἀπεληλύθοσαν* “were disbanded (cp. Hell. VI. 5. 21 τοὺς μὲν Σπαριάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἰκαδε),” which would give an easier interpretation to this obscure passage. By *ἐκεῖνοι* appear to be meant *οἱ τρισχίλιοι*. Grote (VIII. p. 37) states that “after the review was over, these scattered companies *went home to their meal*, leaving their arms piled at the various places of muster.” *Ἀπεληλύθεσαν* hardly seems to warrant this full interpretation, although such a rendering helps considerably to clear up the meaning of the passage.

τοὺς φρουρούς] sc. the Lacedæmonian garrison.

*παρελῶντο*] Cp. Dem. *F. L.* 366. *π.* διώκισμένοι κατὰ κώμας καὶ παρηρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, where there is a variant reading

περιηρημένοι. Πάντων = “from all:” cp. Eur. I. T. 24, 25 καὶ μ' Οὖσσέως τέχναι Μητρὸς παρεῖλοντ' ἐπὶ γάμοις Ἀχιλλέως.

§ 21. ἀποσημήνασθαι] Cp. note, 4. 13.

§ 22. λαμβάνοιεν] Optative of indefinite frequency. Jelf, § 419. 1. § 831. 3.

§ 23. λυμανθμενον τὴν πολιτείαν] *Infr.* § 26, we find the dative τῇ καταστάσει after λυμανθεσθαι.

§ 24. πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ] “*plures justo.*” Cp. *Anab.* iv. 3. 34 προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊώντες.

ἀποθησκει] Cp. note, 1. 4.

μεθίστανται] “are being changed.”

P. 59. § 25. τοῖς οὖτοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν] Cp. Arist. *Eccles.* 465 ἔκεινο δεινὸν τοῖσιν ἡλίκουσι νῦν. Jelf, § 823. Obs. 5. Cp. note, 1. 4. 16.

§ 27. ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε] “had been of this opinion,” “had held these views.” Cp. 1. 5. 3 καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀλλ' ἐγρωκέναι.

§ 28. νῦν δὲ] “but as it is.” Cp. 4. 16. Thuc. I. 122. 3. iv. 126. 1.

αὐτὸς μὲν δρέξας...ἀρέσκει] Theramenes is grammatically the object, but really the subject of the verbal notion. Cp. *Cyr.* iv. 3 ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἵα τε πάσχουσι...ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι ἔδοξεν. vii. 5. 37 ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ Κύρος ἡδη κατασκευάσασθαι...ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ. Jelf, § 707. a. For δρέξας, cp. note, 1. 32.

οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ...οὕτως] sc. “he shows himself no longer satisfied with what is going on, with the object that...”

P. 60. § 29. αὐθις πιστοὶ γίγνονται] either, “become friends instead of foes,” or “return to friendship with them.”

διν λαμβάνωσι] “the man that they catch,” implying that there are such men in the world (as, for instance, Theramenes himself). The supposition, more or less definite, justifies the omission of διν (following the two best Manuscripts). Jelf, § 831. 4. γ. Obs. 1. § 830. 3.

τούτῳ] Cp. note, § 43.

τοῦ λοιποῦ] “in any future case.” Cp. *Anab.* v. 7. 34 τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἔξειναι ἀνομίας δρέξαι. vi. 4. 11 καὶ δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο, ἔαν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ξημούσθαι. Τὸ λοιπόν would signify *continuity* of future time.

§ 30. οὐδὲ καὶ ταῦτα οὐτοις ποιεῖ] “these are no new practices of his.”

**προπετέστατος...έκεινοις]** Cp. Arist. *Ran.* 538 τὸ δὲ μεταστρέ-  
φεσθαι Πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον Δεξιοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρος ἔστι καὶ φύσει  
Θηραμένους.

§ 31. **κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται]** “he has the nickname of the Buskin.” Cp. *Mem.* I. 4. 2 Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμε-  
νον. Although the general intention of the explanation which follows of the Buskin is tolerably clear, yet the words as they stand appear to be hardly translateable. Cobet omits them as spurious. If they are to be retained, the particles *μέν* and *δέ* will connect the two clauses without containing any opposition. The **κόθορνος** appears to have fitted closely round the leg, and to have been laced in front. Possibly therefore ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων may signify “behind” (backwards), and “before” (forwards). Will Theocr. xiv. 66 help us with the variant reading ἐπ’ ἀμφο-  
τέρων? The usual meaning of *ἀποβλέπειν* is to “look at as a model, pattern, authority, &c.”

*εἰς πράγματα]* “into action.” To connect the expression with *πράγματα παρέχειν* appears to weaken, if not destroy, the force of *ἢν τι ἀντικόπτῃ*.

*εἰ δὲ μή]* “otherwise.”

§ 32. **δῆπον]** “it is true,” “we all know,” of a recognized fact. Lat. “scilicet,” “nimurum.” Cp. *Anab.* v. 7. 6 *ἴστε δῆπον δύον* “*Ἄλιος δύσχει καὶ ὅποι δύεται*.” The word often conveys with it a notion of irony (§ 34).

**πᾶσαι μεταβολαι]** Cobet reads **πᾶσαι αἱ μεταβολαι**. Tr. “there are no changes of constitutions which do not bring bloodshed.”

**P. 61. καταδύντας]** Cp. note, I. 6. 35.

§ 34. **ἀπολόμενος]** sc. by his death. Cp. Hor. *Od.* II. 4. 10 *et ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis.*

**τῶν ἔξω]** “the exiles.”

§ 35. **προσταχθέν]** accusative absolute.

**P. 62. οὐδὲ...μὴ δτι]** “not even...much less.”

§ 36. **παρανενομηκέναι]** “acted illegally.” *Παρανενομικέναι, παρανενοηκέναι, παρακηκέναι* have all been suggested instead of this obscure expression.

§ 39. **Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου]** Socrates tells us (Plat. *Apol.* 32 C) that he was sent with four others to Salamis to fetch Leon, who had gone into exile there in order to escape the violence of the Thirty: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ δλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τριδκοντα*

αὐ μεταπεμψάμενοι με πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον (rotunda) προσέταξαν ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον ἢ' ἀποθάνοντα οὐα δὴ καὶ ἀλλοι ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν.

Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου] This was the Nicias who had been butchered with Demosthenes by the decree of the Syracusans in spite of Glyippus' wish to save them: Thuc. vii. 86 Νικίας δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένην ἀκοντος τοῦ Γυλίττου ἀπέσφαξαν.

P. 63. § 40. ἀλλὰ μῆτρ] "then further," "nay more."

Αντιφῶντος] not the son of Sophilus, mentioned Thuc. viii. 68. 1, but son of Lysonides.

§ 41. ἐξηρ γὰρ αὐτοῖς] "In expressions of *necessity*, *duty*, *propriety*, *possibility*, *liberty*, *inclination*, &c. *ἄντι* is commonly omitted, as it accorded with the genius of the Greeks as well as Latins (cp. *decebat*, *aequum erat*, &c.) to represent that which was necessary or viewed as such &c., as unconditionally true, it being kept out of sight, that it sometimes did not happen, or only partially." Jelf, § 858. 3. Cp. *Anab.* vii. 7. 40 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἔμα διαπεπρᾶχθαι. Hence instead of *εἰ τούτου γέ ἐδέοντο*, Xenophon writes *εἰ τούτου γε δέοντο*, although the Lacedæmonians did not wish to starve out the Athenians. Cobet alters the Manuscript reading to *εἰ τούτου γέ ἐδέοντο*.

§ 42. τὸ ἀντίκαλον] "the opposition."

§ 43. οὗτοι] "such men as these." Οὗτος often approaches the sense of *τοιούτος*. Cp. Thuc. v. 91 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀρχοντες ἀλλων, ὡσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοι τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν. Dem. F. L. 345 ταῦτην τὴν εἰρήνην (such a peace as this) οὐδέποτε ἀν συμβουλεύσαμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ πόλει, εἰρήνην μέντοι φημι δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι. Cp. *supr.* § 29.

P. 64. § 45. ἀ δ' αὐ εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.] The relative is here explained by the sentence, which repeats as it were, but in a more definite way that to which the relative refers: cp. *Hier.* vi. 12 δ' ἔχηλωσας ἡμᾶς, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὗ τοιεῦ δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἔχθρούς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὐτως ἔχει. Thuc. v. 6. 3 ὅπερ προσεδέχετο παιήσειν αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾳ ἀναβῆσθαι. Eur. *Orest.* 564, 5 ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἀπειλεῖς, ὡς πετρωθῆναι με χρῆ, "Ἀκούσον. Cic. *Off.* iii. 31 quod cum audivisset adolescens filius, negotium exhiberi patri, accurrisse Romanam dicitur. Cp. also Thuc. iv. 125. 1. vii. 80. 3. Jelf, § 835. 2.

§ 46. ἐκεῖνοι] sc. the Four Hundred.

Ἐρυμα] Cp. Thuc. viii. 90. 3 φόβοδόμουν δὲ ἔτι προθυμοτέρου τὸ

ἐν τῇ Ἡετονίᾳ τεῦχος... χηλὴ γάρ ἔστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἡετονία, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὁ ἐσπλαυς ἔστιν.

*τοῖς ἑταροῖς]* "partisans." *Ἑταίραι* at Athens denoted a political club or union for party purposes. Cp. 4. 21. "These societies were formed between persons of the same age, and especially of the richer classes, who had more leisure to pass their time in each other's company (*συνημμερεῖν*, or *συνδιάγειν*, ὅπερ ἡ ἑταρικὴ δοκεῖ ἔχειν. Arist. Nic. Eth. VIII. 5. 3). The tie thus formed was binding both in peace and war: the members of one of these brotherhoods fought by each other's side in battle; and we hear of Cimon's *Ἑταῖροι* to the number of 100, fighting round his armour, and dying where they stood, in order to vindicate his and their loyalty to their country, which had been impeached on account of their political opinions (Plutarch, Cim. 17). But in spite of this instance of heroic patriotism, the loyalty of the *Ἑταίραι* to a democratic constitution was generally more than questionable. The members were closely attached to one another, and imbibed a strong aristocratical antipathy to the commons. And like all political clubs or unions, whether aristocratical or popular, they were little scrupulous as to the means by which their objects were to be effected: assassination being practised frequently by them, as by the patricians at Rome in their early contests with the plebs, and by the nobility of Florence in the middle ages." Arnold on Thuc. VIII. 54. 4.

§ 47. *ἀποκαλεῖ]* "calls contemptuously," "calls by way of abuse." Cp. Demosth. F. L. p. 417 *λογογράφους τοίνυν καὶ σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλῶν τοὺς ἀλλούς καὶ ὑβρίζειν πειραμένους.* p. 438 *βάρβαρούς τε γάρ πολλάκις καὶ ἀλάστορα τὸν Φειδιππὸν ἀποκαλῶν ἐδημηγόρει.*

*τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή]* Cp. *τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες*, I. 7. 26. *Anab.* I. 8. 16 ἥρετο ὁ τι καὶ εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. V. 8. 2 λέξαντα *ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη.* Arist. Eccles. 1014 λέγ' αὐτὸς τί ποτε κάστη.

*μισοχρηστότατος]* "greatest hater of the good," with a play on *οἱ χρηστοὶ* ("those of good family").

P. 65. § 48. *δραχμῆς μετέχουεν]* sc. are in receipt of a senator's salary. For the optative with *πρίν* after *οἰομένοις*, cp. Thuc. IV. 117. 1 *νομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ δύ εἴτι τὸν Βρασίδαν σφῶν προσαποστῆσαι οὐδὲν πρίν παρασκεύασαντο καθ' ἡσυχίαν.* Soph. Phil. 551, 2 *ἔδοξε μοι μὴ σῆγα, πρίν φρεσαμί σοι, τὸν πλοῦν ποιείσθαι.* (Ed. R. 505 ἀλλ' οὐποτ' ἔγωγ' ἄν, πρίν θοιμί δρθὸν ἔπος, Μεμφομένων ἀν καταφαίην. Hom. Il. XXI. 580 οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρίν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχιλῆος. Jelf, § 848. 5. β.

*καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων]* Theramenes means to say that, condemning both extreme democracy and oligarchy, he

esteeems that form of government the best where the leading men would be able to render service in person on horseback and on foot.

§ 49. *ἀποστερέων* “defraud.” Cp. 4. 13.

§ 50. *τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος* “thinking this utterly unendurable.” Cp. Hell. IV. 4. 6 ἐγένοντὸς τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι.

*τοῖς δρυφάκτοις* “bar,” “cancelli.”

§ 51. *οἷον δεῖ* “competent.”

ὅς ἀν...μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ] sc. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. Cp. Thuc. II. 44. 2 τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσι. 62. 4 καταφρόνησις ὃς ἀν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν. Jelf, § 829. 2.

P. 66. *θανατοῦμεν*] “condemn to death.” Cp. *Anab.* II. 6. 4 (where Clearchus is condemned to death in his absence) ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. The word also means “put to death.”

§ 52. *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐστίαν*] Cp. *Æschin.* 34. 10 *τὴν Ἐστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαῖαν* (the altar and statue of Vesta placed in the senate-house).

*ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι*] “penes *Critiam esse.*” Cp. *Anab.* I. 1. 4 βουλεύεται δπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. Hell. VII. 4. 34 δπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἰεν. Jelf, § 634. 3. k.

§ 53. *καὶ ταῦτα γνωνόσκοντες*] “and that too knowing as you do.” Jelf, § 697. d.

§ 54. οὐ δεῖ] Cobet reads *οἶ*: the Manuscripts οὐ. Shilleto on Thuc. I. 134. 6, where we should expect *οἴτερ* for οὐτερ, states that there are certainly passages in Greek which show that the distinction of “where” and “whither” is not always maintained (cp. I. 1. 23; II. 4. 6)...“The conceptions of *going into* and *being in* are so nearly coincident, that we do not marvel at *στῆσαι παρὰ τινα* as well as *παρὰ τινι*, *ἔις τινα τόπον* as well as *ἐν τινι τόπῳ*.” Cp. Thuc. II. 86. 1 οὐπερ (οἴτερ) ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησῶν προσβεβοηθήκει. Xenophon himself gives us, *Anab.* II. 1. 6, *προιόντες οὐ η μάχη ἐγένετο.* II. 4. 19 *ἔχομεν ἀν δπον φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν.* VI. 3. 23 *ἴωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι δπον δὲ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.* Compare our use of “where” for “whither,” as in “where are you going?” Cp. also Soph. *Trach.* 40, 1 *κείνος δ' δπον Βέβηκεν οὐδεὶς οἶδε.* Hell. VII. 1. 25 δπον δὲ βουληθεῖν ἔξελθεῖν. So in Latin, “*ubi.*” Jelf, § 646. 6. a.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων πρόττετε] i. e. give him the draught of hemlock.

P. 67. § 55. οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες] sc. η βουλή (a noun of multitude). Cp. I. 4. 13 ὁ βχλος...θαυμάζοντες. *Anab.* II. 1. 6 τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σίτον κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄντος.

§ 56. οιμώξοτο] "would rue it." Cp. *Hdt.* IV. 127 ἀγτὶ δὲ τοῦ διτὶ δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαίειν λέγω. *Horace Sat.* I. 10. 91 *discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.*

ἀποκοτταβλαντα] "having jerked out the last drops." Cp. *Cic. Tusc.* I. 40 *relicum sic e poculo ejicit ut id resonaret; quo sonitu reddito, arridens propino inquit hoc pulchro Critice.* The game of κότταβος evidently served as a kind of love-oracle. Originally the player spatured from his mouth the wine or water which descended upon the πλάστιγγες or metal scale-plates: it is stated that at a later date the wine was not taken into the mouth but jerked out of a cup.

ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα] "these matters are not sayings worthy of mention." Cp. *Anab.* I. 4. 4 ἡσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη.

τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκέτος] *Cicero*, "quum jam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret."

τὸ φρόνιμον] *Cicero*, "hanc animi maximi aequitatem."

τὸ παιγνιώδες] "sense of humour," "pleasantry." *Cic. Tusc.* I. 40 *lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu.*

c. IV. § 1. Θηραμένης] *Cicero* thought very highly of Thera-menes: *Tusc. D.* I. 40 *quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est!* He ranks him with Themistocles and Pericles: *de Orat.* III. 16. 59 *qui propter anicipitem faciendi dicendique sapientiam florerent ut Themistocles ut Pericles ut Theramenes.*

δοτν] "the upper town." Cp. note, I. 4. 13.

ἡγον] "proceeded to expel, or, bring to trial."

τῶν χωρίων] "farms," "estates."

§ 2. Φυλῆν] termed by Corn. Nep. (*Thrasyb.* II. 1) "castellum in Attica munitissimum." Aristophanes (*Plut.* 1146) makes an amusing allusion to this occupation of Phyle: μὴ μησικά κῆσης εἰ σὺ Φυλῆν κατέλαβες (*infr.* § 43).

P. 68. § 4. τὰς ἐσχατιὰς] the Boeotian frontiers.

πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια] nearly two miles.

λασίψ] "rough (with bush, &c.)," opposed to μαλακός. Cp. Hell. iv. 2. 19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἥσθανοντο προσώντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον.

§ 5. θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα] "having grounded arms," i. e. having piled spear and shield.

§ 6. πρὸς ἡμέραν ἔγινετο] "it was drawing towards day-break." Cp. Anab. iv. 5. 21 ἐτελέσθη δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν. Jelf, § 638. 3. 2. a. Cp., for a similar surprise of the Lacedæmonians by the Thebans, Hell. vii. 1. 16 ἐπικίπτοντι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνέσι τρίκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φύλακαι ἥδη Ἐληγγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο δύοι ἐδεῖτο ἔκπτωσις.

ἀνίσταντο] sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων] "from the camp." Cp. Thuc. i. 3. 2 ὅσα μὴ προσέντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων (the place where the spears and shields were piled).

οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον] "Thrasybulus and his men." Thrasybulus is included in the expression, as *supr.* 3. 18 Critias makes up one of the Thirty in the expression Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα (*infr.* § 8).

ἐπικαλούμενον] "surnamed." Cp. note, 3. 31.

§ 7. ἀνελόντο] "had taken up." Cp. note, 1. 7. 4.

P. 69. § 8. ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι] These words, if not corrupt, must be equivalent to τῶν ἵππεων (sc. τῶν Ἐλευσινῶν).

προσδεήσοντο] "would want in addition." Cp. note, 4. 22.

τὸν δ' ἀπογραψάμενον δὲ] Cp. note, 1. 4.

ἀναγαγόντα] sc. from the sea into the city. Cp. 1. 3. 8.

§ 9. τὸ Ωδεῖον] "An Odeum or music-hall resembled a theatre in its semi-circular form, but differed from it in being usually roofed for the sake of sound. Athens had three such buildings: (1) the Odeum of Pericles which is probably the one meant here; built about 440 B. C. at the S. E. corner of the acropolis. It had a pointed roof, said to be in imitation of the tent of Xerxes; in the interior 'many seats and columns' (Plut. *Per.* 13). (2) The Odeum near the fountain Callirhoe by the Ilissus; older, according to Hesychius, than the theatre of Dionysus, i. e. than 500 B. C. On one occasion 3000 hoplites were called together in it: Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 9. (3) The Odeum built about 150 A. D. at the south-west corner of the acropolis by Herodes Atticus, and called after his wife, the 'Odeum of Regilla.' It was the largest in Greece, the interior diameter being about 240 feet (Paus. vii. 20. 3)." Jebb, *Theophr.* p. 236.

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους] "and the cavalry besides." Cp. *Anab.* I. 5. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρος οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδὲν δένδρον. 7. 11 ἄλλοι δὲ ἡσαν ἔξακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς. So in Latin, "alius."

φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον] Similarly the aristocratical exiles at Megara on returning to their native city held a review in different parts of the town, and compelled the democrats to vote openly upon the lives of those whom they knew to be most ill-affected towards them (*Thuc.* IV. 74. 4). Cp. *Lys. c. Agorat.* 467 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τῶν βαθμῶν· δύο δὲ τραπέζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἑκάστην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους, ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας. ταῦτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι· τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, τὴν δὲ σώζουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν.

P. 70. § 11. ἐτι μὲν] "for some time." Cp. *τέως μὲν*, I. 4. 6.

δ κύκλος] the circuit of the walls of the Piraeus. Cp. *Thuc.* II. 18. 7 τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἡσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ δοστοῦ, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν] called after an architect in the time of Pericles, who laid out the Piraeus.

τὸ Βενδίδειον] the temple of Bendis, a Thracian divinity, identified with the Athenian Artemis. *Livy*, xxxviii. 41 *Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Bendidium loco aperto castra posuit.*

ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα δοστίδων] "fifty deep." Cp. ἐπὶ μᾶς, I. 6. 29. The Thebans also formed their column at Leuctra fifty deep: *Hell.* VI. 4. 12 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἐλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα δοστίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἡσαν. The ordinary depth of the Macedonian phalanx was sixteen. Cp. *Thuc.* IV. 93. 4 ἐπ' δοστίδας δὲ πέντε μὲν καὶ εἰκοσι Θηβαῖοι ἐτάξαντο.

§ 12. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις] "behind these." Cp. ἐπὶ πᾶσι, I. 1. 34.

αὐτόθεν] Cp. 2. 18. Sc. they had additional reinforcements from the inhabitants of the place. Cp. *Thuc.* V. 52. 2 καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβών. VI. 71. 2. VII. 71. 1.

§ 13. ἡμέραν πέμπτην] "four days ago." Cp. *Cyr.* VI. 3. 11 καὶ χθὲς δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν (day before yesterday) τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπραττον.

οὗτοι δὴ] "illi vero," "illi ipsi."

ἀπεστέρουν] "defrauded." Cp. 3. 49.

*τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων]* "those nearest and dearest to us." The Tragedians, and sometimes Plato, would have said *τὸ φιλτάτα*.

*ἀπεσημαίνοντο]* 'Αποσημαίνεσθαι has the meaning of "confiscate (mark out for public sale)," "proscriptione publicare," 3. 21. Here it probably means "marked out for death," "marked out so as to get rid of." The expression however is not quite clear. Cp. ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, "mark with approbation."

οὐ] Cobet reads *οὐτ*. Cp. note, 3. 54.

P. 71. § 14. οὐχ ὅπως] "not only not." Cp. *Anab.* vii. 7. 8 καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὐ παιῆσας ἀνθ' ὄντος εὐ παθεῖς δέξιοις ἡμᾶς ἀποτέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποτορεομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ καταυλισθῆναι, δύσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέπεις. *Hell.* v. 4. 34 ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαντο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτινέσσιαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν. *Jelf.* § 762. 3.

§ 15. κατατρώσομεν] "wound mortally." *Katà* here strengthens the notion of the simple verb, as in *κατακόπτειν*, *κατακτεῖν*, *καταφαγεῖν*, *καταδακρύειν*.

§ 16. νῦν δέ] Cp. note, 3. 28.

ἄν γε] "quippe quorum."

§ 17. συνεισεται ὡν] Cp. note, 3. 12.

ἐπίδωσι] "live to see." Cp. *Thuc.* vii. 7 τενξόμενος ὡν ἐπιθυμεῖτέ πον ἐπίδειν. *Soph. Trach.* 1036 τὰν δο ἐπίδοιμι πεσοῦσαν. *Arist. Ach.* 1156 ὃν τέτοιοι τενθίδος δεδμενον. *Xen. Cyr.* viii. 7. 7 τοὺς φίλους ἐπέδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας γενομένους. *Anab.* vii. 1. 30 ἔγώ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι, πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπίδειν ὅφ' ὑμῶν γενέμενα, μυρίας ἔμεγε κατὰ γῆς ὀργυιὰς γενέσθαι. *Tac. Agric.* 45 non vidit *Agricola* obsessam curiam. The word is also used especially of looking upon evils. Cp. *Plat. Gorg.* 473 C. *Hom. Il.* xxii. 61, 2.

μημελον ... τεύξεται] For the position of οὐτω (referring to καλοῦ), cp. *Symp.* 4. 40 οὐδὲν οὐτω δρῶ φαιδόν εργον ὅποῖον οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν ἀν τροφῆν ἐμοὶ παρέχοι. *Hdt.* vii. 46 ἐν γάρ οὐτω βραχεῖ βίω οὐδεῖς οὐτω ἀνθρωπος ἐών εὐδαίμων τέφυκε. Possibly οὐτω qualifies both πλούσιος and καλοῦ.

τὸν Ἐνυάλιον] 'Ενυάλιος (from 'Ενύω, "Bellona") appears in Homer sometimes as an epithet of the War-god, sometimes as his name. In later authors he becomes a distinct deity: *Arist. Pac.* 457 "Αρει δὲ μῆτ; ... μηδ' Ἐνυάλιος γε; cp. *Anab.* i. 8. 18 καὶ δύα ἔφθεγξαντο πάντες οἵντε περ τῷ Ἐνυάλιῳ ἐλελίζονται, καὶ πάντες δὲ θεον.

§ 18. *καὶ γὰρ] "etenim."*

P. 72. § 19. *ἀποθνήσκει]* Historic present. Jelf, § 395. 2. *ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν]* Cp. note, I. 2. 1.

*τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας κ.τ.λ.]* Cp. Corn. Nep. (*Thrasyb.* 2) *neminem jacentem veste spoliavit; nihil attigit, nisi arma, quorum indigebat, et quae ad victimum pertinebant.*

§ 20. *Κλεόκριτος]* derided by Aristophanes: *Av.* 877 *δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στροῦθε, μῆτερ Κλεοκρίτου.*

*εὐφωνος]* Cp. Arist. *Eccles.* 713 *λαβούσα κηρύκαιναν εὐφωνητινα.*

*συμφοιτητα]* "school-fellows." Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 916 *διὰ σὲ δὲ φοιτᾶν οὐδεὶς ἔθέλει τῶν μειρακίων.* Dem. *de Cor.* 315. 7 *ἔδιδασκες γράμματα, ἐγώ δὲ ἐφοίτων.*

§ 21. *έταιρας]* Cp. note, 3. 46: *Hell.* v. 2. 25 *ἀρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος τῶν ἔταιρών.*

P. 73. § 22. *κατεδακρύσαμεν]* "wept bitterly for." Cp. note, 4. 15.

*προσακούειν]* "hearing also (as well as having been witnesses of the battle)." Cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 1 *καὶ ιδών...προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο.*

§ 23. *τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ]* Cp. note, I. 4. 13.

§ 24. *ἔξεκάθενδον]* "slept out of their quarters." Cp. Cic. *Div.* I. 50. 112 *moniti Lacedæmonii ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent.*

P. 74. *ἀφ' ἐσπέρας]* "at eventide (directly evening had set in)." Cp. *Εὐθεν.* Jelf, 620. 2. d.

§ 25. *δπλα]* "shields." Cp. Thuc. VII. 45. 2 *δπλα μέντοι ἔτι πλειω ἥ κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθη ὅι γὰρ κατὰ τῶν κρητικῶν βιασάθεντες ἀλλεσθαι ψυλοὶ ἀνευ τῶν ἀσπίδων, οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐσώθησαν.*

*ἔλευκοῦντο]* "were whitening them over (with chalk)." *Hell.* VII. 5. 20, we find *ἔλευκοῦντο τὰ κράνη, "began to polish their helmets."* The Carians are spoken of as *λευκάσπιδες*, III. 2. 15. In the Tragedians the Argives only are *λευκάσπιδες*: cp. Eur. *Phæn.* 1099 *λεύκασπις εἰσορώμεν Ἀργειῶν στρατὸν.* Soph. *Antig.* 106 *τὸν λεύκασπιν Ἀργύθεν ἐκ φῶτα βάντα παναγίᾳ.* Aesch. *Theb.* 90 *λευκοπρεπῆς λευς δρυται ἐπὶ πόλιν.* Hom. *Il.* XXII. 294 *Δηφορὸν δὲ ἐκάλει λευκάσπιδα μακρὸν ἀνσας.* Virg. *Æn.* IX. 548 *parmaque inglorius alba.* The term *λεύκωμα* is ap-

plied to tablets of larch whitened over with chalk or white plaster for ornamental panels.

*γενέσθαι*] "had gone by." Cp. note, I. 4. 7.

*δτώραν*] Cp. note, I. 1.

§ 26. *τῶν Αἰγανέων* members of one of the Attic demes. The Manuscripts read *ἔξω νέων*.

§ 27. *ἀνταπέκτειναν*] "killed in retaliation."

*τῶν Ιππέων*] Cp. note, 3. 14.

*ει δὲ καλ...δι*] a confusion between two constructions. Cp. *Anab.* vi. 4. 18 ὡς γὰρ ἔγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἡκοντος πλοίου, ἡκουσά τινος δτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστῆς μελει ἥξει πλοῖα ἔχων καὶ τριήρεις.

*τοῦτο*] referring to what follows. Cp. 3. 56.

*ξένην*] "teams."

*ἀμαξιαλος λίθους*] "stones large enough to fill a waggon." Cp. Eur. *Phæn.* 1157 λᾶνε ἐμβαλών κάρη Ἀμαξοτληθῆ. *Anab.* iv. 2. 3.

P. 75. § 28. *ἔκατὸν τάλαντα*] Demosthenes tells us (c. *Lept.* 460) that the money borrowed on this occasion was on the restoration of order refunded to the Lacedæmonians by general payment: *φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐλέσθαι συνεισενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς δαπάνης, ὥστε μὴ λύσαι τῶν ὀμοιογημένων μηδέν.*

*αὐτοῖς*] sc. τοῖς ἔξ αστεως.

*ἀρμοστήν*] Xenophon also uses the form ἀρμοστήρ: *Hell.* iv. 8. 39 καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθτῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον.

§ 29. *τῷ Λυσανδρῷ*] almost equivalent to "this Lysander." *Supr.* § 28, we have simply *Λύσανδρος*, as being the first mention of the name. *Jelf.*, § 450. 1.

*οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦτων*] Cp. *Thuc.* I. 109. 8 ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προύχώρει (sc. τὰ πράγματα). Cp. note, 2. 16.

*φρουράν*] Cp. the concrete use of *φυλακή* for *φυλακεῖ*. This word is applied specially to the Spartan soldierly: *Hell.* III. 2. 23 *φρουράν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι.* vi. 4. 17 *φρουράν μὲν ἔφανον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίποιν μέραν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης.*

§ 30. *Ἐπραττον δὲ ταῦτα*] "and they took up this attitude."

*ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ*] sc. the low-lying region between the Piræus and Mount Hymettus.

P. 76. § 31. *ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν*] "go to their respective homes." Cp. § 38.

ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν] "as far as noise went." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 92. 9 ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐστὸν Πειραιᾶ ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα ὠργίζετο τοῖς ὀπλίταις, where Arnold says that one or other of these two prepositions is superfluous. Jelf, § 621. 3. 1. *Obs.* 3.

ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς] 'Απὸ is here used as indicating a less direct agency than ὑπό, and combining the senses of "result" and "means." There seems no necessity for an alteration of reading. Thucydides gives us a good instance (amongst others), VII. 29. 1: καὶ τοὺς πολεμούς, ἦν τι δύνηται, ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάψαι. Cp. *id.* I. 17. 1 ἐπράχθη τε οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον. Jelf, § 620. 3. d.

τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα] "the mute harbour," of Munychia as opposed to the noisy Piræus. These words have been proposed as an emendation for τὸν Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, Thuc. v. 2. 2, where, as Arnold says, there is no information to explain why one of the harbours of the Toronæans should have been named from the Colophonians. Cp. the "Smugglers' harbour," τὸν φώρων λιμένα, a little westward of the Piræus.

§ 32. τὰ δέκα δφ' ἡβῆς] "those who had passed the age of maturity ten years," i.e. those who were 28 years old. The age of ἡβῆ at Sparta was 18 years, at Athens 14 or 16. For the expression, cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 23; VI. 4. 17.

Πειραιῶν] Locative case.

§ 33. ἀποθηῆσκεν] Cp. 4. 19.

πολεμάρχων] There were six polemarchs in Sparta, one at the head of each mora; they were next in military rank to the king: cp. Thuc. v. 66. 3 βασιλέως γὰρ ἀγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα δρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς πεντηκοντήροις, αὐθίς δὲ οὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐνωματάρχαις καὶ οὐτοὶ τῇ ἐνωμοτιᾳ.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ] Those who had fallen in battle were buried in the outer Ceramicus on the road leading to the Academy. Cp. Thuc. II. 34. 6 τιθέασιν οὖν ἐστὸν δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Cp. also Arist. *An.* 395, sqq. δὲ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ, Δημόθεν γὰρ ἡνα ταφῶμεν, Φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγῶν Μαχομένω τοὺς πολεμούσιν Ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρεαῖς. Dem. de Cor. 297 (208) τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμαισι κειμένους ἀγαθῶς ἀνδρας. Cic. de Leg. II. 26 *amplitudines sepulchrorum quas in Ceramico videmus.*

P. 77. § 34. εἰς χεῖρας] Cp. Thuc. v. 72. 4 οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομεναντας. Herodotus expresses hand-to-hand

conflict by ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπίκεσθαι, ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι (ix. 48; viii. 89).

§ 35. σφᾶς] the Spartan officers.

§ 36. ὅσπερ γὰρ...συστρατεύεσθαι] Besides the ephors, the king would be closely accompanied by the polemarchs: cp. *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 1 συσκροῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, διτοις δὲι συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβούλωσιν, ἦν τι δεώνται: and by three of the peers, *id. xiii. 1* συσκηροῦσι δὲ καὶ δῆλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν δμοῖων· οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμία ἀσχολία ἡ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. He would also have a body-guard of one hundred picked warriors. Cp. *Hdt. vi. 57*, and *Arnold on Thuc. v. 60. 1* τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατεύομένων.

§ 37. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κονοῦ] sc. οἱ δέκα.

λέγοντας] Cp. *Hell. iii. 5. 7* πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τάδε. 4. 25 ὁ Τερραύντης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησθλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας. *Anab.* iv. 5. 8 διέπεμπε διδόντας. *Thuc. vii. 25. 9* ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρέσβεις ἀγγέλοντας. Cobet reads λέγοντες. So ἀπαγγέλουσα, 1. 29, is the reading of all the best Manuscripts. Although the action is incomplete, yet it is conceived of as having already commenced, and is therefore expressed by the present. *Jelf, § 398. 2.* Cp. *Soph. Aj. 826, 7* πέμψουν τινὲς ἡμῖν ἄγγελον, κακὴν φάτιν Τεύκρῳ φέροντα.

P. 78. § 38. οἱ ἐκκλητοι] Cp. *Eur. Or. 612* ἐκκλητον Ἀργειων δχλον. The assembly of the ἐκκλητοι seems to have been the same as the so-called lesser assembly (*Hell. iii. 3. 8* τὴν μικρὰ καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν).

δρξάντων] "who had had rule."

§ 39. διῆκε] "disbanded." We find ἀφῆκε, v. 3. 25: διαφῆκε, iii. 2. 24; iv. 4. 13.

§ 41. παρελύθητε] "were disabled, overthrown." The proposed emendation περιηλάθητε, "were harassed," seems preferable to Dindorf's substitute for the corrupt Manuscript reading περιελήλυθεν. Cp. *Arist. Eq. 290* περιελώ σ' ἀλαζωνεῖσι. 887 οὖσι πιθηκισμοῖς με περιελαύνεισι. *Hdt. i. 60* περιελαυνόμενος τῇ στάσει. *Demosth. 1049. 10* περιελαθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου.

ὅσπερ τὸν δάκνοντας κύνας κ.τ.λ.] probably a verbal reference to Solon's law, which would be familiar to an Athenian audience, ἐν φι καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλοιῷ τετράπήχει δεδέμενον. *Plut. Solon 24.*

P. 79. § 42. ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] "restored the assembly." "The Assembly had been practically abolished by

the election of the Thirty. Restoring the Assembly is equivalent to restoring the democracy," J. S. Philpotts. The interpretation usually given to this bold phrase is "broke up the assembly ("adjourned the assembly," Liddell and Scott)." But no previous mention has been made of summoning an assembly, which has led Cobet and others to introduce ἐκκλησίαν ἐποιησαν, συνελεξαν after the word κατέβησαν (§ 40): and Xenophon would in all likelihood have used the constitutional phrase, λένει, διαλένειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (cp. Arist. *Ach.* 173 *οἱ γὰρ πρυτάνεις λένουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. Thuc. viii. 69. 1 *ἡ ἐκκλησία κυρώσασα ταῦτα διελύθη*). Hom. *Il.* i. 191 we find a somewhat similar phrase (*τούς μὲν ἀναστῆσειν, δὸς Ἀτρελένην ἐναρέζοι*) in connection with "breaking up" an assembly: but the idea of *force*, which is there strictly prominent, hardly seems to find a place in the present passage. In addition to this we may notice that after having reestablished the proper assembly, the citizens proceed to the constitutional election of magistrates (§ 43).

§ 43. ὁμοσαντες ἡ μὴν μὴ μητσικακήσειν] Η μὴν "verily" is used of strong assurance, and accompanies oaths, declarations, &c. Homer uses ἡ μέν to express the same meaning. Jelf, § 728. 3. a. § 729. 3. a. The Present, Future, or Aorist Infinitive is used after verbs of swearing, ordering, praying and the like, according as the speaker regards the action either as simply continuing, or continuing in Future time, or has no regard either to its continuance or its time, but only to its taking place. Jelf, § 405. 7.

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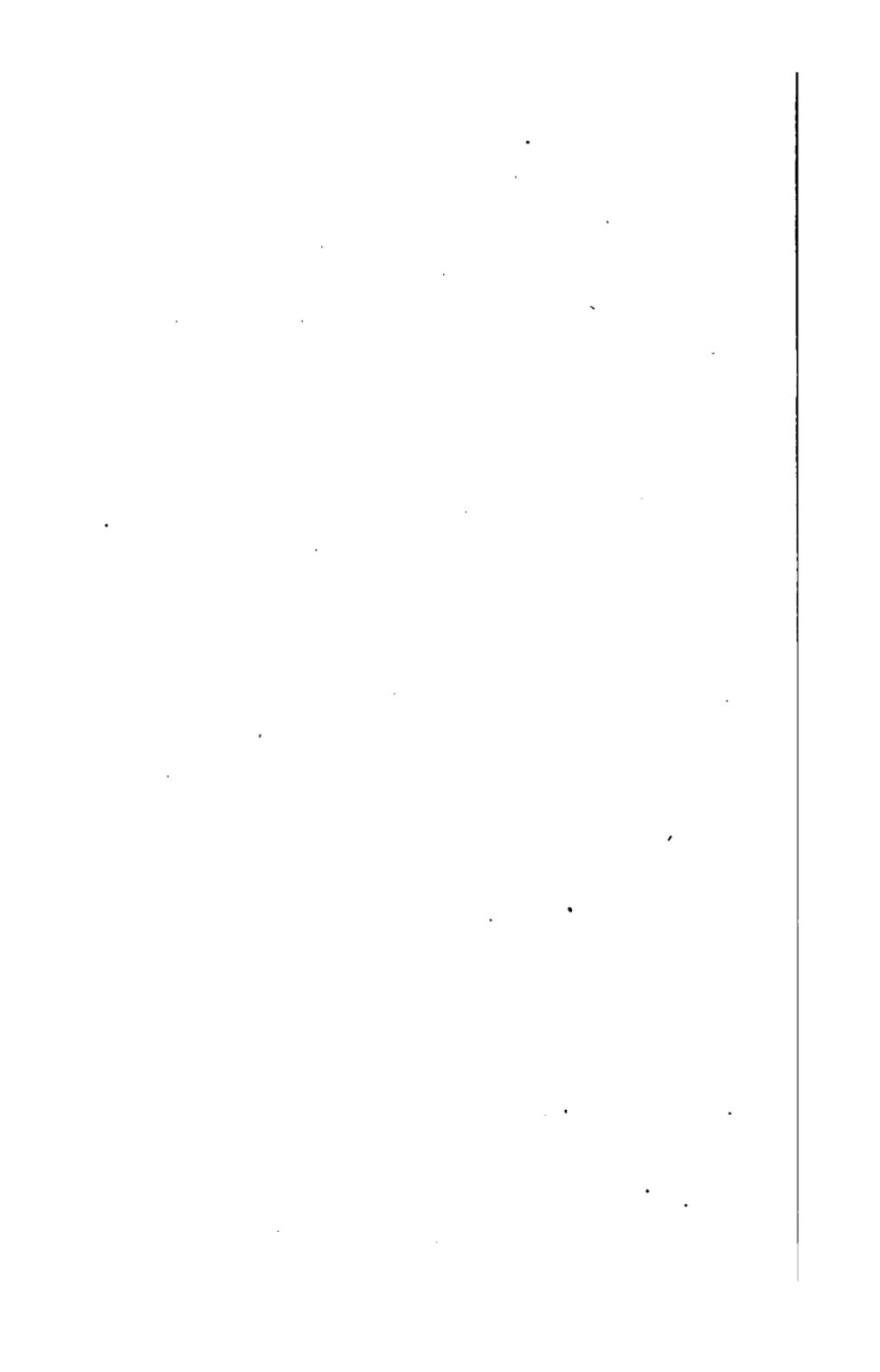
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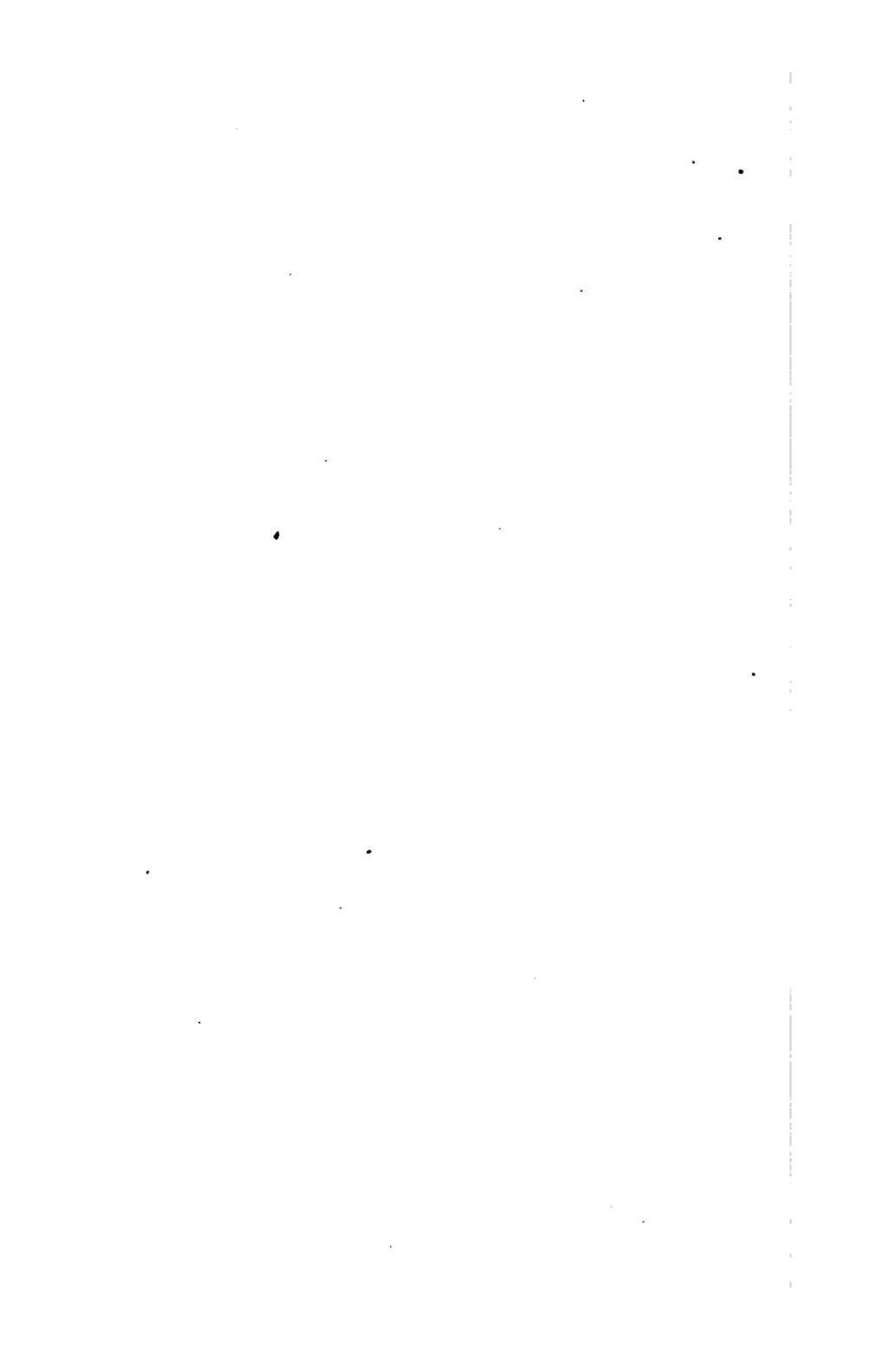
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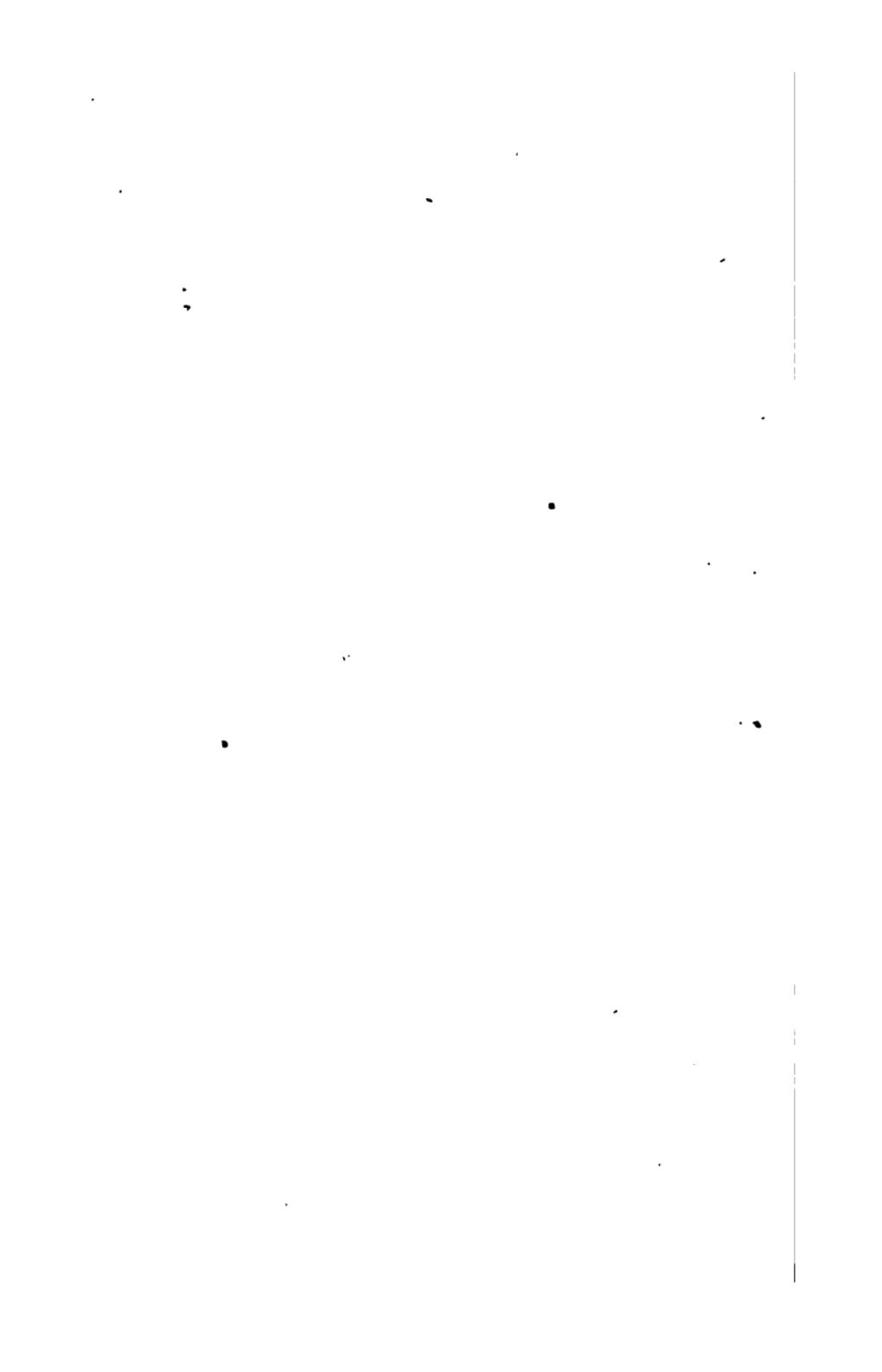
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